

REPORT

OF THE

FOURTH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

HELD IN

PUTNAM, MUSKINGUM COUNTY, OHIO.

On the 29th of May, 1839.

CINCINNATI:

PUBLISHED BY THE OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

KIMBLE & ALLEN, PRINTERS.

1839.

MINUTES.

Pursuant to notice, given by the Executive Committee, the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society held its Fourth Anniversary, in Putnam, Muskingum county, May 29th, 1839.

Wednesday, 10 o'clock A. M., the delegates assembled in the Presbyterian church: On motion, Rev. C. G. Finney, took the chair, and opened the meeting with prayer.

On motion, the following committees were then appointed:—

On Business: G. Bailey, Jas. G. Birney, Jas. C. Ludlow, W. W. Bancroft, and Henry Cowles.

On Funds: E. Weed, L. D. Butts, W. Donaldson, Robert Hanna, Thomas Rodgers.

On Depository and Philanthropist: Lorenzo D. Butts, James Boyle, Asa Smith.

On Nomination of Officers: Daniel Parker, E. Weed, W. Robinson, W. Donaldson, M. R. Robinson.

On motion, the Annual Report of the Executive Committee was then read by Dr. Bailey, accepted, and with a single amendment, adopted. The printing of it was referred to the Executive Committee.

Adjourned to 2 o'clock P. M.

2 o'clock, P. M.

President Finney in the chair. Meeting opened with prayer.

On motion, Horace Nye, A. A. Guthrie, and A. Bushnell were appointed a committee, to make out the roll of delegates present.

G. Bailey from the Business Committee reported resolutions in relation to the acts of the Ohio legislature at its last session. See Resolutions marked A. They were acted on, separately, and the discussion to which they gave rise, which was both spirited and profitable, occupied the afternoon. The one respecting the case of Mahan being under consideration, he was called upon by the audience, for an account of the whole case, which he gave in a very

interesting manner. After the adoption of several of the resolutions, the convention adjourned till 8 o'clock P. M.

8 o'clock, P. M.

Dr. Alexander Campbell, one of the vice-presidents, in the chair. Meeting opened with prayer.

The committee appointed to make out the list of delegates present, reported 284 names. Report accepted.

On motion, all Abolitionists present were invited to participate in the proceedings.

A letter from J. A. Thome to the Convention was read, and ordered to be printed with the proceedings. The consideration of the remainder of the resolutions (marked A) was resumed, and the evening consumed in their discussion. They were all adopted.

Adjourned till 8 o'clock to-morrow morning.

Thursday, 8 o'clock, A. M.

Convention assembled. President Finney in the chair. Prayer by the president.

On motion, Eli Nichols, W. W. Bancroft, and Ed. Sturges, were constituted an auditing committee.

On motion, L. W. Knowlton, A. F. Hanna, and J. Cable, were appointed a committee to receive the reports of auxiliary societies.

The Committee on the Philanthropist reported, that the paper had now a larger circulation than at any former period, having a subscription list of about 3000; but that there was a large amount of arrearages still due. They recommended the following resolution which was adopted.

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to obtain, and report to the corresponding secretary, the names of one or more persons, member, or members of each society, whose duty it shall be to collect the monies due on the Philanthropist, and on pledges, and to procure subscribers to the paper. M. R. Robinson, E. Weed, and L. D. Butts were appointed this committee.

The committee on nominations submitted their report, which was accepted and adopted. [See the names of officers in another column.]

G. Bailey from the Business Committee reported a series of resolutions, relating to the action of Congress and the general govern-

ment on the subject of slavery. See resolutions marked B. They were read, and on motion, laid on the table.

Itanus Bassfield, who was a slave for 27 years in Tennessee, addressed the meeting for about half an hour. He paid \$350 for himself, has been free over somewhat four years, and has labored, and attended school, alternately.

A series of resolutions, explanatory of the ground assumed by Abolitionists, in regard to the political bearings of the slave-question, was then offered by President Finney. They were considered separately, and the mover accompanied each one by remarks designed to illustrate and enforce it. With some slight amendments, they were at length adopted, and constitute the series, marked C, in another column.

A resolution respecting the duty of Abolitionists to contribute liberally of their funds to the Anti-Slavery cause, was moved by Mr. Weed. It was spoken to in an animated style by Messrs. Weed, Parker, and Birney, and adopted.

Resolved, That the Convention now proceed to take up pledges and receive donations, for the support of the cause, the ensuing year.

The business of obtaining pledges, &c., was accordingly commenced, and it appeared that, when closed, nearly \$4000 had been pledged.

Adjourned to 2 o'clock P. M.

2 o'clock P. M.

Met according to adjournment. President Finney in the chair.

On motion of Robert Hanna, one hundred dollars were appropriated to M. R. Robinson, as a tribute of respect, and in consideration of his past labors in the anti-slavery cause, in the arduous performance of which, he had the misfortune entirely to lose his voice.

On motion of R. Hanna, the following resolution was read, and laid on the table.

Resolved, That the church of Christ in the United States is responsible in great measure for the present existence of slavery in this country; and that we cannot but regard any branch of the church, that will refuse to bear testimony against it, as false to her sacred vows, and in league with the dark spirit of slavery.

The resolutions reported by the Business Committee in the

morning, respecting the action of the general government on slavery, were then separately taken up, discussed, and at length adopted.

Mr. Birney then moved the following resolution.

Resolved. That the elective franchise is a power conferred in the providence of God on the citizens of the United States for good—which they ought to use, and invariably, for the election to legislative and other stations of trust, of those only who, being of good moral character, are known to be favorable to human rights, and to the abrogation of all distinctions in right founded on color.

The only objection made to this resolution, was, that its passage would conflict needlessly, with the peculiar notions of Covenanters who were members of the Society, who believed that the government of the United States was wrong, and therefore refrained on conscientious grounds, from voting. The resolution was accordingly modified, so as to read, after the first clause, ending with the word "good"—"which those who can conscientiously vote, ought to use inviolably for the election," &c. During the discussion on this topic, a letter signed by a committee of the Medina Anti-Slavery Society was read, protesting against the course of political action pursued by the State Society. While the communication was treated with respect as coming from a society, its sentiments met with no favor from a single member of the convention; and the resolution under discussion, with the proposed amendment, was heartily adopted.

Convention met. Alexander Campbell in the chair. Morning opened with prayer.

Hiram Wilson, who has spent the past year in travelling and preaching among the colored people in the Canadas, offered the following resolution, which he supported in a speech of half an hour's length.

Resolved. That our beloved brethren and sisters, who as teachers of science and morality, are laboring to elevate the character and increase the healthful influence of the free colored population, of the United States and British possessions, are thereby wisely and successfully promoting the cause of universal emancipation, and ought to be liberally sustained by the friends of the enslaved.

Jas. G. Birney moved the following resolution.

Resolved, That all plans of gradual emancipation are inadequate, as means for the abolition of slavery in the United States.

In support of the resolution the mover addressed the meeting at considerable length, exposing the futility of colonization, the impracticability of any scheme of gradual emancipation on the soil, and showing the safety and benefits of *immediate* emancipation.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 8 o'clock A. M.

Friday Morning, 8 o'clock A. M.

Convention met according to adjournment. President Finney in the chair. Meeting opened with prayer.

The Business Committee reported the following resolutions, which were adopted unanimously.

Resolved, That the responsibility of sustaining slavery in this country, rests to a great extent on those of our fellow-citizens, who are professedly opposed to the system, and who have no personal interest in its continuance, but refuse to bear their testimony against it.

Resolved, That it be recommended to Abolitionists in Ohio, to establish in every school district a good A. S. Library, in the course of one year.

Resolved, That it be recommended to our fellow-citizens to petition the next legislature to reimburse Mr. Mahan for the losses unjustly incurred by him, in the late prosecution against him in the court of Mason county, Kentucky.

Resolved, That the moral and intellectual elevation of free colored men is vitally connected with the great object of Abolition, and that in our view, for this end, special effort should be made for the education of their children and youth by opening and sustaining schools in all their settlements, and wherever a sufficient number are collected together to compose a school, and far better still so far as practicable, by opening the doors of all the schools and literary institutions throughout our land for the free admission of persons without distinction of color.

G. Bailey moved that the resolution respecting the responsibility of the Church, previously offered by R. Hanna, and laid on the table, be now taken up, and also requested leave to offer in connection with it, the following resolutions, which was granted.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this body, those ministers of the gospel, who have preached against the sin of slave holding,

have acted in this respect, consistently with their office, as preachers of righteousness, and imitators of Him, whose coming was heralded as glory to God in the highest, on earth, peace and good will to man.

Resolved, That no religious society can be considered pure from the guilt of enslaving men, so long as its privileges are open to slave holders, without rebuke.

These resolutions were discussed with much animation by Messrs Finney, Cowles, Weed, Walker, Hanna, and another member, whose name is now forgotten.

The question was taken upon them separately, and they were all adopted unanimously.

In connection with the foregoing resolutions the following was submitted by Professor Cowles, and adopted.

Resolved, That the abolition of slavery is a mighty conflict between truth and falsehood, righteousness and oppression; that in view of the strength with which slavery has imbedded itself in the legislation of our country, in its customs and habits, and in the lists of power, indolence, wealth and passion, our reliance for success in our efforts to abolish it, rests with confidence mainly on the power of truth, upon the conscience and the heart, sustained by Him who can touch the hearts of men and turn them at his pleasure; and we therefore earnestly recommend as one of the most efficient means of abolishing slavery, that the monthly concert of prayer for the oppressed be faithfully observed and that Christians on all suitable occasions implore the God of the oppressed to interpose in his wisdom and love for their deliverance.

On motion of John Stuart, the following resolution was adopted.

Resolved, That respect is due from all right hearted men to those Christian denominations which have wiped from their character the foul and God-dishonoring stain of slavery.

On motion of Horace Nye, it was

Resolved, That the co-operation of our christian brethren in Europe and other parts of the world, in our efforts to abolish slavery in these United States, will tend powerfully to hasten its abolition.

On motion of G. Bailey, it was

Resolved, That notwithstanding the exhibitions of violence on the part of leaders in both church and state at the South, we still believe that there are patriots and christians there, who deeply la-

ment the evil of slavery, and with whom we are called upon sincerely to sympathize.

The recommendation of the Circleville antislavery society to change the form of the Philanthropist from the folio to *quarto*, was duly considered, and laid on the table.

On motion of L. D. Butts, the following resolutions, after some remarks, were adopted.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Executive Committee, to open a correspondence with the anti-slavery societies of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Western Pennsylvania, and other societies interested in a general anti-slavery convention of the Western States, and to urge upon them the utility of such a measure.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Executive Committee to call several district conventions, during the ensuing autumn, in such different parts of the state as may to them seem best; and to secure the attendance of able speakers, in order to awaken a deeper anti-slavery interest, and accelerate the progress of the cause.

On motion of E. Weed, it was

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be instructed to publish an address to the churches, and ministers of the gospel in Ohio, on the day of christmas in relation to American slavery.

Prayer was then offered up by President Finney, and the convention adjourned, after a most active, harmonious and deeply interesting session.

W. NICHOLS, }
L. WEED, } Secretaries.

RESOLUTIONS.

Passed at the Fourth Anniversary of the Old State Anti-Slavery Society.

A.—FIRST SERIES.

Resolved, That, while we rejoice at the noble protests of the legislatures of Vermont and Massachusetts, and of the H. of Representatives of New York, against the attempts in Congress to abridge the right of petition, we feel deeply abased; that the General Assembly of Ohio, promptly echoed the servile doctrines contained in the Atherton resolutions, by passing a series of resolutions, as false, as they were abject and derogatory to the honor of the state.

Resolved, That the resolution passed by the house of represen-

tatives of Ohio at its last session, which denies to the colored population of the state, the right of petition, is a refinement on despotism itself, and an exhibition of such prejudice against color, as can be cherished only by minds habitually malignant, and essentially vulgar and cruel.

Resolved, That the passage during the last session of our legislature, of the Bill relating to fugitives from labor, at the dictation of the slaveholders of Kentucky, has degraded the free state of Ohio in the estimation of her sister states; and that the Bill itself, denies the right of trial by jury; converts the ministerial officers of the Ohio courts of justice into the ignominious tools of slaveholders; invites the most flagrant aggressions on personal rights by securing the aggressor against liability of punishment; tends to place the people of Ohio in the position of open supporters of the practice of slaveholding; is an outrage on the constitution of the state; an inhuman attempt to fetter the most generous sympathies of the human heart, and a palpable violation of the Law of God.

Resolved, That those men, who advocated, or voted for, the passage of said bill, have given in the serenity of their conduct, evidence of the fact, that no office of trust, power or profit, in the gift of the people of Ohio, would be safe in their hands.

Resolved, That the dictation of the slaveholding power in relation to the last election in this state, for senator to Congress, is additional evidence that nothing but the absolute control of the government of the country will satisfy the slaveholder; and shows conclusively the low estimate placed on the self respect and love of independence of the people of Ohio. Such dictation ought to have been repelled with the deepest indignation by a state, jealous of its honor and watchful against encroachments on its liberties.

Resolved, That the indictment, demand, delivery, arrest, abduction, incarceration, and loading with irons, of the Rev. J. B. Mahan, a citizen of Ohio, were disgraceful to Kentucky, insulting and injurious to this state, another demonstration of the aggressive nature of slavery, a fair sample of the ruthless, unprincipled policy necessary to uphold this system, and a most humiliating evidence of the blindness, or stupid indifference of the constituted authorities of Ohio, to gross invasions of the rights of the citizens they are sworn to protect.

Resolved, That, as the Rev. J. B. Mahan, was arrested, and removed from the protection of our laws by virtue of a warrant of the

Executive of Ohio, unjustly granted, whereby he was made unjustly to sustain great pecuniary loss, he ought therefore, being otherwise remediless, to be compensated by an appropriation from the state-treasury.

Resolved, That Ohio owes it to herself, to humanity, to freedom, to the claims of justice, to the God of nations, not only to repeal the servile law passed at the last session of her legislature, but also every law on her statute-book, which discriminates between human beings, on account of their color. Such laws are the off-spring of prejudice against the oppressed, and of a sycophantic desire to please the oppressor, and find no warrant in self-interest, or humanity.

Resolved, That color in Ohio can furnish no presumption of slavery,—that it is disregarded in the Constitution of the state, as a basis of personal rights, and therefore we are bound to presume every person within the limits of the state, free, and to treat him as such.

Resolved, That he ought to be regarded as infamous, and an enemy to his species, who in a free state, will aid or assist the slaveholder, to any extent or in any way, in the recapture of a human being, whom he claims as his slave.

Resolved, That the noble efforts of B. F. Wade and his few associates, in resisting the passage of the Servile Bill, and in endeavoring to maintain unimpaired the honor and independence of Ohio, entitle them to the highest respect of every citizen of the state.

Resolved, That while we mourn over the disgrace inflicted upon Ohio, by the conduct of an abject legislature, we yet rejoice in the thought, that in the senate chamber of the United States, Abolition has found its first advocate in the person of an Ohio Senator. Let Thomas Morris be remembered with gratitude, as the only man in the United States' Senate, who twice stood forth as the advocate of the truths of the Declaration of Independence, and the defender of human rights, when most fiercely assailed, first by John C. Calhoun, and then by Henry Clay:—and this too in the face of his party, and with the sure prospect of losing his seat.

Resolved, That the citizens of Ohio and the friends of liberty generally, have further reason to rejoice, in the manly and independent stand, taken by the Hon. J. R. Giddings, at the last session of Congress, against the aggressions of the slaveholding power.

B.—SECOND SERIES.

Resolved, That the assertion so often made, that the free states have nothing to do with slavery, or the slave-trade in this country, is untrue and unjust, for it is well known, that the government of this nation has been, and now is, wrested from its original purpose, in being prostituted to the guardianship and nurture of the slave-system, whereas it was intended by its framers to operate for its final extinction.

Resolved, That the free states have an equal interest in the "general welfare," and are equally bound to cherish it; and, as slavery is continually acting injuriously upon it, they are therefore solemnly bound, to resist by all moral and constitutional means the further extension of slavery, whether in principle or form, and by right and proper action on the slave-states, induce them to bring it to an end without delay.

Resolved, That as the slaveholder has procured, if not commanded, the action of Congress, as well as of our own state-legislature, to confirm his power over the slave, additional obligations are laid upon us, as Americans, and as Ohio citizens, to engage in anti-slavery operations.

Resolved, That the proceedings in Congress, during the last session, with regard to petitions and memorials for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, the slave-trade, and kindred objects, were invasive of the sovereignty of the free states, and of the constitutional rights of individuals. Any interest of a local character, which thus aspires to use the national legislature as an instrument for dishonoring the states, and outraging rights solemnly secured by the federal constitution, (and such we regard the slave-holding interest,) ought to be restrained, if not put down.

Resolved, That the resolutions introduced by Mr. Atherton into the House of Representatives of the United States, and passed by that body, were a wicked attempt to deprive American citizens, by the action of one House of Congress, of that sacred right, which the constitution declares it shall not be competent for the whole power of Congress to abridge.

Resolved, That we deny the truth of the part of the first of said resolutions, which declares, that Congress has no jurisdiction whatever over the subject of slavery in the several states of this confederacy; because it has a right to regulate, or abolish the slave-trade, which is part and parcel of the institution of slavery; and because

too, it owes protection to the slave against foreign aggression, and can punish him for treason or other crime against the United States, independently of any slave-state or slave-holder.

Resolved, That the second resolution, in assuming that Congress ought to be influenced by the alleged motives of petitioners, is an impertinent usurpation. No matter what may be the motives of petitioners, they belong to themselves, and the only question for Congress to decide is, whether the object prayed for be constitutional and proper to be granted.

Resolved, That, so far from Congress having no right to do that, which may indirectly affect the institution of slavery, it is both their right and duty, and in accordance with the design of the framers of the constitution, to exercise in a moral way, every power conferred by the constitution, which may indirectly overthrow slavery.

Resolved, That the assertion in the third resolution, that the "disturbing or overthrow" of slavery in the several states is against the true spirit and meaning of the constitution, is a gross libel on that instrument, and a broad and glaring curtailment of the rights of the states; because, if the spirit and meaning of the constitution be, that slavery shall exist in the states, then indeed the states have no power over the subject, and the cause of slavery is engaged upon them, in spite of themselves.

Resolved, That, the resolution by which petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and territories, and the slave-trade, were laid on the table, without being debated, printed, or referred, is an act of high-handed usurpation, and a naked violation of every principle of free government; an act which, if patiently acquiesced in by the people of the free states, will open the way for still more fearful invasions of their liberties.

Resolved, That the system, adopted by the Senate of the United States, of disposing of all petitions relating to slavery, by laying on the table motions to receive them, is a practical denial of the right of petition, and calls for the indignant and unintermitted remonstrances of every American citizen.

Resolved, That the conduct of the same body, in refusing to consider or print the resolutions of the State of Vermont on the same subject, shows that the slave-holding power has no more respect for the sovereignty of states, than the rights of individuals; and ought

to be solemnly and sternly rebuked by every legislature in the Union.

The following resolution was here moved by Rev. William Beecher, as proper to be subjoined, to the two immediately preceding.

Resolved, That the contempt with which petitions and memorials on the subject of slavery have been treated by Congress and our own legislature, calls loudly for the indignation of every friend of liberty; and so far from preventing should only stimulate us, to more persevering and decided efforts, to make our sentiments and wishes known, by the most earnest petition, and decided protest, until our legislature listens to the same. Carried.

Resolved, That the refusal of the General Government, to recognize the independence of Hayti; and its persistent, pertinacious endeavors to effect the restoration of cargoes of slaves, wrecked on British islands, or driven by stress of weather into British ports, and liberated by virtue of British laws,—while they demonstrate the hypocrisy of our professions of devotion to liberty and equality, and convict us of loving gain more than consistency, at the same time show beyond all doubt, that the institution of southern slavery is not a sectional, but a national affair.

Resolved, therefore, that slavery, having thus placed itself under the protection of the General Government, and thereby involved the whole Union in one common guilt and disgrace, we not only claim a right to interfere with it by moral means, but also claim, that the Constitution of the United States, if necessary, should be so amended as to enable the national legislature to legislate for its abolition. For it is manifestly absurd, that the power and honor of the whole nation should be called in requisition, to sanction, sustain and protect an institution, over which, it is assumed that it has no jurisdiction.

[This resolution gave rise to considerable discussion. It was opposed, chiefly, because an apprehension prevailed, that it would be misunderstood, and subject us to injurious misrepresentation. It was finally laid on the table, much against our will. It is high time to tell the slaveholders, that, if they will have our aid to uphold slavery, they must share with us the power of controlling it.—Ed. Pm.]

Resolved, That the Honorable Henry Clay, in his late speech on Abolition in the Senate of the United States, so far from occupying the high position of an American statesman, comprehending in his

views and solicitudes the interests of the whole country, and founding his opinions and policy on the principles of eternal justice, has prostituted himself to the support of an interest, sectional in character, radically wrong in principle, despotic in demand, violent and reckless in measures, adverse to the highest welfare of the Union, and at war with *Humanity*.

Resolved,^o That while his grave and inflammatory misrepresentations of the movements, motives and principles of abolitionists, qualify him to assume the championship of the slave-holding interest; the false and dangerous principles, mercenary arguments, rank selfishness, apathy to the wrongs of the oppressed, unblushing sympathy with the oppressor, every where prominent in his speech, and the complacent presumption with which he calculates on the continual blessing of God upon a system of never-ending slavery, added to his own persistence in the accursed practice of slave-holding, disqualify him for any office of honor and influence among a free people.

Resolved,^o That, since Mr. Van Buren, as President of the Senate, gave his casting vote in favor of Mr. Calhoun's bill to prohibit the free circulation by the mail, of papers favorable to Human Rights—afterward, at his inauguration as President of the United States, pledged himself to veto any bill which might be passed by both Houses of Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, unless same bill should be supported by the slave-holding States—has given no evidence, so far as is known to this meeting, that he is not up to this time, favorable to the perpetuation of slavery in the South, and that he is not to the full, a Northern President with Southern principles—he is therefore undeserving of support, is a candidate for the last office in this Government.

A resolution was offered by Wm. Purdy, which was adopted, and ordered to be printed after each one of the two foregoing resolutions. We regret exceedingly that it has been mislaid; but the substance of it was, that the Convention could not countenance any candidate, holding opinions on slavery, like those entertained by Henry Clay or Martin Van Buren.—Ep. Pan.

Resolved,^o That while we honor John Quincy Adams for his defence of the right of petition and freedom of debate, for his strenuous opposition to the annexation of Texas, and his bold expression of determined hostility to the slaveholding system, neverthe-

less, we disavow all sympathy for any scheme of *gradual* abolition which he may devise, and should be as reluctant, while he holds his present opinions on the question of abolition, to acknowledge him as one of the leaders or representatives of the abolition organization, as he is unwilling to be thought such.

Resolved, That the interest which distinguished men in the United States, not abolitionists, have taken in the discussion of the slavery question, and their efforts to contribute their share to the overthrow of the evil, we duly appreciate; but, at the same time, we feel more than ever convinced of the vital importance of adhering to our own principles and mode of action, and of procuring the adhesion thereto of the whole American people.

Resolved, That we have no sympathy with that class of anti-slavery persons, who glow with generous indignation at abridgements of the rights of the free, but look, unmoved, upon the degradation and oppression of the slave.

Resolved, That we are primarily and chiefly opposed to slavery, because it is sin against God, a sin in which by our social, ecclesiastical and political relations we are necessarily involved; because it inflicts incalculable wrong upon nearly three millions of our fellow-countrymen, whom we are religiously bound to love as ourselves; and because it acts as a principle of corruption in church and state all over the country.

Resolved, That we are moreover opposed to slavery, because, it hinders the prosperity of the nation, disgraces its character, divides its councils, tends to disunion and civil war, and jeopardises all our rights.

Resolved, That, as the practice of slaveholding is in itself necessarily and unchangeably sinful; we are as much as ever convinced of the duty of its *immediate* abandonment.

Resolved, That the expediency of immediate abolition is no longer a matter to be settled alone by abstract reasoning and reference to principles of duty, but is fully established by the results of emancipation in the West Indies.

C.—THIRD SERIES.

1. *Resolved*, That while we have been, and still are, mainly anxious to discuss the moral and religious character, bearings, and tendencies of slavery, and leave to politicians, as far as is consistent with our relations to God and our country, the discussion of its

political character, bearings and tendencies, yet, for the following obvious reasons, we feel called upon, as abolitionists and christians, freely to discuss its political character and influence.

a. Religion cannot be separated from politics and government, inasmuch as our conformity or non-conformity to the law of our country, must have a moral and religious character.

b. Since our Legislature has undertaken to legislate upon the subject, and frame laws for the government of our conduct, we are imperatively bound to inquire into the moral character of those laws, and of the course of conduct they prescribe and enjoin.

2. *Resolved*, That for the following obvious reasons, we regard it, as a well settled principle of both common and constitutional law, that no human legislation can annul, or set aside, the law or authority of God.

a. The most able writers on elementary law, have laid it down as a first principle, that whatever is contrary to the law of God, is not law.

b. Where a bond, or other written instrument, or any thing else, is of immoral tendency, Courts of law have refused to recognize it as legal and obligatory.

c. The administration of oaths, or affirmations, in Courts of justice, is a recognition of the existence and supreme authority of God.

d. The Constitution of this State expressly recognizes the axiom, that no human enactment can bind the conscience, or set aside our obligations to God.

e. The grand instrument on which the federal Government is founded, recognizes the same truth—that rights conferred by our Creator as inalienable, can never be cancelled, or set aside, by human enactments.

f. The administration of oaths, or affirmations, in all the departments of the general and state governments, is a recognition of the truth, that God's authority is supreme.

3. *Resolved*, That we do not consider, what are familiarly, and we believe, significantly, termed the Black Laws of Ohio, and especially the one passed last winter, relating to fugitives from labor, as obligatory upon the citizens of this State, inasmuch as its requisitions are a palpable violation of the Constitution of this State, and of the United States, of the common law and of the law of God.

[It will be noticed that the reason alleged why the Black laws of

Ohio are not obligatory upon us, is, because the *law passed last winter* is so and so. The resolution therefore is not a logical one. Thus alone would be with us a sufficient reason for recording our vote in dissent. Another reason would induce us to this course.—We are not prepared to say that we do not consider any one of the black laws, in any of its provisions, as obligatory upon the citizens of this State. In *so far* as these laws require from me an act, of immoral character, they certainly have no obligatory power over me. That part of the resolution, however, which condemns the Servile Law of last winter, and denies its validity, we can go for, with all our mind and strength.—ED. PHIL.]

4. *Resolved*, That for the reasons assigned in the above resolutions, we should deem obedience especially to the law of last winter, highly immoral.

[“Especially” ought to have been omitted.—ED. PHIL.]

5. *Resolved*, That no man, by any promise or oath, or resolution, can make it right, or lawful, for him to do that, which is contrary to the law of God.

5. *Resolved*, That an oath or affirmation, to support any human constitution or government, is obligatory no farther than the principles of that constitution or government are in accordance with the law of God.

7. *Resolved*, That an oath or affirmation to support the Constitution and laws of this State and of the United States, is obligatory because, and as far as, these constitutions and laws are consistent with each other, and with the law of God, and no farther.

[This resolution needs explanation. One of the measures and reasons of a man's allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States, is, certainly, not the accordance of these with the constitution of his particular State; for the federal constitution and all laws passed in pursuance of it, are the *supreme* law of the land, any thing in the Constitutions, or laws of the several States to the contrary notwithstanding. The resolution means simply, that an oath or affirmation to support the Constitution and laws of the United States and the several States, is obligatory, because and as far as, they are consistent with the law of God, and that allegiance to the laws of a State is due, because and far as, the laws are consistent, not only with the law of God, but the Constitution of the particular State, and of the United States.—ED. PHIL.]

8. *Resolved*, That we deem it to be the imperative duty of all

the citizens of this State, and of the United States, to inquire into the moral character and bearings of our federal and state Constitutions and laws on the subject of slavery.

9. *Resolved:* That we deem it highly improper, for Christians to decline acting on the subject of slavery and emancipation, on account of the political character and bearings of these questions, because we cannot innocently suffer legal enactments to crush our brother, when the means of prevention are peaceable, and within our power.

OFFICERS FOR THE ENSUING YEAR.

President.

LEICESTER KING.

Vice-Presidents.

Alexander Campbell, Brown County,

James Gilliland,

C. I. Finney, Oberlin,

Dr. Bancroft, Greenville,

Reese E. Price, Hamilton County,

Francis Dunlavy, Warren,

Wm. Keys, Highland,

Richard Long, Ross,

Samuel Crofters, Highland,

Nathan Galbraith, Columbiana,

James Stewart, Fayette,

Edwin Conner, McCordsville,

Dyer Burgess, Adams,

Mahlon Wileman, Starke,

Wm. R. Hudson, Geauga,

Samuel Denny, Pickaway,

Orestes K. Hawley, Ashtabula,

J. Jolliffe, Clermont,

Levi Whipple, Muskingum,

John Walker, Hudson,

Daniel Miller, Seneca,

L. S. Parker, Marietta,

J. A. Foote, Cuyahoga.

Corresponding Secretary.

Gamaliel Bailey, Jr.

Recording Secretary.

Augustus Hopkins.

Treasurer.

William Donaldson.

Managers.

Edward Wade, *Cuyahoga*,
 Thomas Maylin, *Cincinnati*,
 Christian Donaldson, "
 John Hunt, *Athens*,
 Joshua K. Giddings, *Ashtabula*,
 J. B. Mahan, *Brown*,
 John Rankin, "
 Thomas H. Iben, *Clinton*,
 Manassah Raer, *Carroll*,
 Jesse Holmes, *Columbiana*,
 H. S. Gillets, *Franklin*,
 Uri Seely, *Geauga*,
 Robert Hanna, *Harrison*,
 Robert Bell, *Holmes*,
 U. J. Chamberlain, *Huron*,
 Eli Nichols, *Belmont*,
 Jacob Little, *Licking*,
 Joseph Bryan, *Jefferson*,
 W. A. Beebe, *Knox*,
 Joseph Riggs, *Scioto*,
 J. B. Johnson, *Logan*,
 John Monteith, *Lorain*,
 Archibald Stewart, *Fayette*,
 Timothy Hudson, *Medina*,
 Charles Dungan, *Monroe*,
 James A. Shedd, *Montgomery*,
 Horace Nye, *Muskingum*,
 Asahel Kilbourn, *Portage*,

P. H. Gallady, *Prieble*,
 Shelden Guthrie, *Putnam*,
 Robert Stewart, *Ross*,
 Samuel McCullough, *Shelby*,
 Rivenius Bidwell, *Trumbull*,
 J. M. Stetling, *Cuyahoga*,
 Peter Kirkpatrick, *Licking*,
 D. C. Eastman, *Payette*,
 Aaron L. Benedict, *Delaware*,
 John Carolus,
 D. Wallace,
 Rev. R. Tainey, *Logan*,
 John Casey, *Guernsey*,
 Horace Bushnell, *Hamilton co.*,
 George Manchester,
 Dr. Abbott,
 Almer Kirk, *Stark*,
 Thomas Robinson, *Union*,
 Charles Palmer, *Richland*,
 Gamaliel C. Beman, *Lawrence*,
 Wm. Beey, *Meigs*,
 J. H. Purdy, *Green*,
 David Putnam, Jr., *Washington*,
 Thomas Duke, *Marion*,
 James Boggs, *Crawford*,
 George Poage, *Allen*,
 Griffith Johnson, *Holmes*,
 F. D. Parish, *Erie*.

Executive Committee.

WM. DONALDSON.

GAMALIEL BAILEY, jr.

JAMES C. LUDLOW.

L. D. BUTTS.

DR. TOWLER.

MR. VANBERGEN.

J. BLANCHARD.

THOMAS MAYLIN.

NAMES OF DELEGATES.

M R Robinson, <i>Marlboro,</i>	Wm. Bryce, <i>Canton,</i>
Abner G Kirk, "	Mahlon Wileman, <i>Marlboro,</i>
W C Ely,	James Austin, "
Ralph Porter,	Joseph Cope, <i>Shortcreek,</i>
Ruby Porter,	James Cope, "
Edwd Weed, <i>Mt Vernon,</i>	Ruth Cope, "
Rev L S Parker, <i>Mansfield,</i>	Elmer Cope, "
Edw Sturges and wife, "	L Rood, <i>Oberlin,</i>
Rev E Buckingham, <i>Hibson,</i>	P D Hallway, "
E. Spencer and wife, <i>Granville,</i>	M E Surby, "
Ewd T G Jones, <i>Wayne co,</i>	J L Platt, "
J Hillyer jr., <i>Granville,</i>	Abm. Allen, <i>Wilmington,</i>
Saml Howe, "	Jas. Brook, "
Saml Allen, "	Margaret Brook, "
Geo Sinclair, <i>Richill,</i>	Susan G Lakens, "
Nathan, S. and E. Galbraith,	Thos. Rogers, <i>Petersburg,</i>
Wm Banks,	Robt. H Holliday, <i>Salem,</i>
Jno Toner, <i>New Concord,</i>	Wmson C Holliday, "
Alex. George, "	Jas. C Steel, "
Thos Shepherd,	David Gormly, <i>Greenfield,</i>
D Richardson and wife, <i>Monro,</i>	James Fullerton, <i>Salem,</i>
Geo Benedict, <i>Perru,</i>	Jane Gormly, <i>Greenfield,</i>
Jno Benedict, "	Eliza Gormly, "
Dani Osborn, "	James Beatty, <i>Laicester,</i>
Charity Osborn, "	Margia J Fullerton, <i>Salem,</i>
Aaron S Benedict, "	Moses Latta, <i>Latta's P. O.,</i>
Phoebe Brady, "	Saml. Howell, <i>Greenfield,</i>
Edwin Wright, <i>Granville,</i>	Isaac Taylor, <i>Colerain,</i>
Jay Hillyer, <i>Granville col,</i>	Jno. Hunt, <i>Amesville,</i>
Rev C G Emney and lady,	Dr J S Hubbert,
M Bancroft, <i>Oberlin,</i>	Jas. Hanna, <i>Caliz,</i>
Miss A Colburn,	Levina Scroggs, <i>Greenfield,</i>
Miss L Lewis,	Jane Scroggs, "
J H Bane, <i>Oberlin,</i>	Jas. Cope and wife, <i>Deerfield,</i>
Chas Fairchild, <i>Brownhelm,</i>	Asa Smith, <i>Trumbull co,</i>
Geo Morris, <i>McConnelsville,</i>	Isaac Wmms, "
A G Gough, "	A Bancroft, <i>Granville,</i>
Benj Gass, <i>Mansfield,</i>	C Howe, "
Gavro Blair, <i>Freelack,</i>	H Bushnell, <i>Cincinnati,</i>
J C Lullow, <i>Cincinnati,</i>	Joshua Eppel,
Mrs Garrard,	Lucius Parker and wife, <i>Trum.</i>
Wm Cochran, <i>Oberlin,</i>	Rev. J Little,
H Elmer, "	J G Birney, <i>New York,</i>
C S Renshaw, <i>Akron,</i>	James Boyle, <i>Cincinnati,</i>
A Wright, <i>Tulmadge,</i>	L Jones, <i>Mt. Pleasant,</i>
Jas Boggs, <i>Bucyrus,</i>	Mary A Jones, "

J N Sampson, <i>Mansfield</i> ,	Sarah E Updegraff
Dr D Williams, <i>Painesville</i> ,	Arm. T Updegraff
Jno Hambleton	Nathan Galbraith, <i>New Garden</i> ,
Nathan Dearborn, <i>Morgan co.</i>	Sarah Galbraith, <i>New Garden</i> ,
B S Knapp, <i>Farmington</i> ,	Esther Galbraith,
Dr W W Bancroft,	A F Hanna,
Prof Cowles and lady, <i>Granville</i> ,	Henry Savage, <i>Autrim, co.</i>
Rev L Dawitt, and lady, <i>Bigm.</i>	Edward Snall, <i>Mercer co., Pa.</i>
R. Higby and lady, <i>Harrisville</i> ,	Saml. Craig, <i>New Washington</i> ,
Alex Campbell, <i>Ripley</i> ,	H Wilson, <i>N. Canada</i> ,
Miss Shepherd,	E S Pierce, <i>Circleville</i> ,
Jer. Wilson, <i>Greenfield</i> ,	Miss Hovey, <i>Columbus</i> ,
Prof. Ingersol, <i>Mich.</i>	G W Warren, <i>Canal Dover</i> ,
Jno. S Purdy,	T Burr and wife, <i>Harrisville</i> ,
R Bard, <i>Borersfield</i> ,	R Hanna, <i>Cadiz</i> ,
Joseph Vandeman, <i>Frankfort</i> ,	Mary Hanna,
Saml. M Coon, <i>New Athens</i> ,	W H Rogers, <i>Manchester</i> ,
Jno. Alexander	Miss Carvet, <i>Chillicothe</i> ,
Wm. Robinson, <i>Mt Pleasant</i> ,	Miss Wright, <i>Tahmudge</i> ,
Eliza Robinson.	Miss Esther Uhlman, <i>Peru</i> ,
Saml. Spurrin, <i>Painesville</i> ,	Jas. Wrigley, <i>Oberlin</i> ,
Miss Robinson, <i>Mt Pleasant</i> ,	Matthew Simpson, <i>Hellsville</i> ,
C. McNeily, <i>Green Tp. Hur. co.</i>	Thos. Lee and wife, <i>Cadiz</i> ,
Jane McNeily	Mrs. M Miller, <i>Cambridge</i> ,
L D Butts,	Daul. Parker, <i>New Richmond</i> ,
E Nichols, <i>Loydsville</i> ,	Mark Strickland,
John Casey, <i>Autrim</i> ,	E N Bartlett, <i>Oberlin</i> ,
J Fisher, <i>Concord</i> ,	Th. Smith, <i>Mansfield</i> ,
J G Irwin and lady, <i>Granv.</i>	Jno. Smith
D S French	L French, <i>Gran. Col.</i>
Enos French, <i>Troy</i> ,	H Wallace,
Mrs. Wattles, <i>New Bremen</i> ,	Dr. Bailey, <i>Cincinnati</i> ,
John Dugdale, <i>Greenplain</i> ,	Mrs. Bailey,
J B Mahan, <i>Sardinia</i> ,	Wm. Donaldson,
Abm. Pettijohn,	Miss Donaldson,
Geo. Putnam, <i>Marietta</i> ,	Mrs. Conklin, <i>Mt. Vernon</i> ,
B F Davis, <i>New Garden</i> ,	Mr. Auld, <i>Deerfield</i> ,
David Bonar, <i>Greenfield</i> ,	Robt. H Hammon, <i>Athens</i> ,
Erastus Guthrie, <i>Dearbourn</i> ,	Rev. R Tenny and lady, <i>Logan</i> ,
I. Nye, and lady, <i>Marietta</i> ,	Edwin Corper, <i>McComelsville</i> ,
J M Stanbury, <i>Deerfield</i> ,	Mr. and Miss Cheney, <i>Morgan</i> ,
Eliza Stanbury,	Wm. George Cumberland,
A A Guthrie, <i>Putnam</i> ,	Luther Boyd, <i>Coshacton co.</i>
Rev. Wm: H. Beecher,	P McFarland Keene
J Metcalf,	Rev. J H Whittlesy, and wife,
H Nye,	[<i>Ht. Portage co.</i>
G N Guthrie,	James M Gibbing, <i>Mt. Vernon</i> ,
D R Safford,	E Gibbs,
M Gillespie,	Wm. Gibbs,

Tho. Shepherd,	Amza Day,
G Helnick,	Tho. Trifable,
L M Chandler,	John Wiley, <i>Newton</i> ,
J Shepherd,	Peter Kirkpatrick, <i>Utica</i> ,
A Joselyn,	H Wallace,
S Allen,	David Wallace,
J Hagling,	Win. Dunlop,
J B Ward,	L M Knowlton, and wife,
C Merriam,	John Stewart, <i>Concord</i> ,
James Ardrey, <i>Newton</i> ,	R Porter, jr., <i>Deerfield</i> ,
L J Russell, <i>Ellyria</i> ,	Benom Dickerson, <i>Delaware</i> ,
John Cable, <i>Granville</i> ,	Loda Dickerson,
Sarah B Cable,	Abby Dickerson,
Rev. E Baseom, <i>Jackson</i> ,	R G Thomas, <i>Salem</i> ,
Mr. J S Hudson, <i>Strongville</i> ,	Miss Anna M Huff,
Rich. Hammond, <i>Leesrun</i> ,	W B Irish, <i>New Lisbon</i> ,
Jas. Hammond, <i>Georgetown</i> ,	Lydia Irish,
Lucus Smith, <i>Oherlin</i> ,	Miss Clemons, <i>Harford</i> ,
Mr. C H Barlett,	J. C McCoy, and wife, <i>Husmar</i> ,
Jos. Linnell, and wife, <i>Granv.</i>	J Brooks, <i>Mansfield</i> ,
Eliz. P Galbraith, <i>N. Garden</i> ,	Sam'l. Smith,
Sarah Galbraith, <i>New Lisbon</i> ,	Andrew Pease,
Elizabeth Sone,	A Bailey, <i>Oherlin</i> ,
Joseph Antlers,	Sam'l. Walker, <i>Bellefontaine</i> ,
David Bixby, <i>Mt. Vernon</i> ,	G Buckingham, <i>McMantle's</i> ,
Elie Bixby,	Fitch Purdy, <i>Portage</i> ,
Adaline Bixby,	Jas. Stitt, <i>Muskingum</i> ,
Jos. Gardner,	David Samson, <i>New Concord</i> ,
J J Stone,	Robt. Wilson and wife,
P M Hancock,	Geo. D Henderson, <i>Concord</i> ,
Wm. Day,	Wm. Oburn,
Enoch Cobb,	Miss Mary J Finley,
Jas. Mead, <i>Belmont</i> ,	Margaret Finley,
J M Hibbert and wife, <i>Hibb'e</i> ,	Jas. Cummins,
Cyrus Cummins, <i>Concord</i> ,	Wm. Wyhe,
Miss Jane Wilson,	Moses Wyhe,
Able Finney,	Miss Martha Finley,
Jacob Fisher,	Jas. Porter,

TREASURER'S ANNUAL REPORT.

Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society in account with William Donaldson for year commencing June 1st, 1838, and ending May 18th, 1839, inclusive.

DISBURSEMENTS.

Balance due the Treasurer on settlement,	\$6 56
Cash paid Editor of the Philanthropist,	
" Corresponding Secretary,	} 1409 71
" Publishing Agent,	
" Lecturers and Travelling Expenses,	408 88
" American A. S. Soc., on Pledge,	606 82
" For Printing Philanthropist,	2474 82
" " Reports, Hand-Bills, Petitions, Pamphlets, &c.,	} 455 75
" For Paper,	
" For Anti-Slavery Publications,	981 42
" Office Expenses, as per weekly Statement,	467 22
" Counterfeit and uncurrent money,	31 70
" Law Expense, (Mob-trials in Cincinnati,) \$100; J. B. Mahan's case, \$270,	} 370 00
" Colored Schools in Brown co.,	
" Promissory Note for this am't. redeemed,	611 50
Total am't. of Disbursements,	\$9714 08

RECEIPTS.

Cash rec'd. of the Publishing Agent,	\$4704 40
" By Donations and Pledges,	2676 97
" Uncurrent money sold,	7 10
" Loans,	604 80
" Paper returned,	30 00
" Of New Book Depository,	511 25
" At the Convention at Putnam,	1199 47
Total am't. of Receipts,	\$9733 19
	\$9714 08
Balance in the Treasury on Settlement,	\$19 11

REPORT

OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO STATE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, *May 29, 1839.*

Your Committee, in presenting their Fourth Annual Report, cannot hope to bring to your notice, any new facts of importance; but they trust so to arrange their materials, as to convey some idea of the progress and present condition of the Anti-Slavery cause.

So far as they can judge, the Abolitionists of Ohio have not, during the past year, supported with their usual vigor their State-organization. Less money has been contributed than formerly, and there has been a lamentable want of punctuality in the payment of pledges. A balance of more than \$3000 still remains unredeemed, on pledges made last year at Granville, and the year before, at Mount Pleasant.

Owing to the want of means, and the difficulty of procuring suitable men, the Committee have had no general agents in their employ, until within the last three months, during which period, the Rev. Lorenzo D. Butts has been operating, as their principal agent. For a few months in the winter the services of Messrs. Samuel and William Cochran were secured; and occasionally, during the year, within a limited sphere, the Rev. John Rankin has been laboring under the direction of the Committee: but owing to the causes just mentioned, the Committee have not been able to adopt any general plan, for diffusing information in this way. Their publications have also been few, and, with the exception of the Annual Report and Mahan's Trial, not very important.

In connection with these statements, your Committee would call attention to the vigorous efforts recently put forth by the Colonization Society. Abolitionists believe that the Colonization scheme, in its practical operations, is an enemy to the colored race, and an adjunct of slavery. They know, that where its delusive principles have taken possession of the public mind, there anu-

slavery doctrines and measures are most unsparingly denounced. They are aware too, that all over the country, a system of measures is now in operation, for resuscitating a collapsed organization, and thereby attracting the anti-slavery sentiment which has been created by abolition-discussion, to the support of a cause, as visionary and absurd in its inception, as it has since been injurious and odiously oppressive in its operations. The West particularly, has been selected as the theatre of its action; and the most strenuous exertions have recently been made to enthrone it in the affections and confidence of the people. These facts are stated, that the comparative indifference of Ohio Abolitionists to the efficient support of their own State-organization may be seen in its true light.

But, if there be something to humble and awaken concern, there is much to excite hope and create confidence.

One reason why so much money has not been paid into the treasury of the State-Society is, that more has been expended by individual societies. While we cannot perceive the wisdom of suffering merely local efforts, to curtail the operations and diminish the efficiency of the state society, still we rejoice at the evidence thus furnished of unabated attachment to the cause.

The best feature of Western Abolition is, its unity of sentiment and purpose. If there be any universal reformers among us, they have too much discretion and honesty to think of using abolition societies as instruments in the promotion of their more general objects. We have long since learned to tolerate the peculiarities of each other. The peace question and other kindred topics, important as some think them, do not divide or agitate us. As Abolitionists; we are of one heart and one mind; and long may we continue so!

It will be gratifying to the Society to learn, that the circulation of its organ, the *Philanthropist*, has largely increased during the last six months. There has been some accession in the slave-states; and exchanges with Southern papers have been more easily effected. Influential papers in the South, which one year ago refused to receive the *Philanthropist*, have within a short period voluntarily sought an exchange;—thus furnishing grounds for the belief, that the South is gradually becoming convinced of the absurdity of closing its ears to a discussion, which involves the fate of one of its “domestic institutions.”

The high ground of no discussion is certainly about to be aban-

done by slaveholders. They find it will not do to be still, while all Christendom is clamoring against them. Letters, addresses, sermons and essays have appeared in defence of slavery in rapid succession. The question of Abolition enters into their politics. It is the subject of their conversation and their thoughts. The grand idea of Abolition is fastened in their minds; and it is easy to predict the results. Its perfect reasonableness will force itself on their judgments, when the repeated contemplation of it shall have stripped it of its imaginary horrors. Men, when they begin to look about for arguments in a bad cause, though a mistaken self-interest may at first lead them to attach a factitious weight to them, will be apt, in the course of their researches, to alight upon principles and facts, that shall ultimately in their own minds work out the truth, and impel them to renounce what now they defend. A minister in South Carolina, some years ago, fell in with a tract, which started a doubt in his mind with regard to the rightfulness of slave-holding. Determined to be on the safe side, he at once emancipated his slaves, so far as the laws of the state permitted; and commenced a Scriptural investigation of the question of slavery. From Genesis to Revelations, he prosecuted his inquiries, till he had convinced himself that Slavery was *right*. Immediately he published a series of articles containing the results of his researches. He was anxious to establish others as well as himself, on Bible grounds. But his mind had broken loose from its torpor. Investigation was not, could not be, abandoned. He naturally became interested to see what was said on the other side. His confidence was again shaken; he resumed his inquiries; truth gradually opened to him; he fell on the right track; now he is a believer in the doctrine of Immediate Abolition.

"Open your mouths, gentlemen; that is all we ask,"—said John Quincy Adams. When they open their mouths, they open the way for conviction. The naked deformity of the principles, to which Chancellor Harper was compelled to resort in defence of slavery, must ere this have convinced many sagacious men in the South of its unchanging, utter wrongfulness.

And discussion in the North has also vastly increased. The newspaper press yet, to a great extent, is still; but the press, like the pulpit, will move, when well assured that the mass is moving. Meantime, every mind is more or less agitated on the question. The sound of Abolition has gone out into all the land. Our ene-

mies are contributing their part to the general excitement. Ather-ton's gag, the Black Bill of Ohio, and Henry Clay's speech have occasioned tenfold more discussions, than prevailed before. That Southern editor was more hasty than wise, who exclaimed on reading the speech of the pro-slavery statesman,—"He commanded the rude waves of Abolition and they were still,"—and even Mr. Calhoun, was somewhat over-confident, when with solemn joy he advertised the country of the death of Abolition by the hand of the Kentucky orator. This speech had the good fortune to attract the attention of one of the most distinguished divines of the age, and one of the best political editors of the country. For the eloquent letter of Dr. Channing, and the caustic, searching review of Charles Hammond; the nation is indebted to this effort of the slave-holding power to subdue Abolitionism. The question of slavery is now before the American people; and the conviction every where is gaining ground, that it must be fairly met, and fully settled.

This leads us to remark, that our principles have advanced much beyond our organization. A far greater amount of anti-slavery sentiment is abroad in the country, than existed twelve months ago. Even the more intelligent classes of Colonizationists confess the influence of Abolition principles on their own organization.

Four things Abolitionists have succeeded in producing:—

A widely-spread, increasing conviction of the right and necessity of discussing the question of slavery:

A general belief that its doom is sealed:

A more lively interest in the true honor of the country, and in the redemption of the slave:

And a consciousness of wrong inflicted on the free man of color, united with an earnest solicitude to meliorate his condition.

Another circumstance we take delight in adverting to, is the steadfast adherence of Ohio Abolitionists to their principles in political action. At our last annual meeting, resolutions were unanimously adopted, insisting on the duty of political consistency. Sometime previous to the last general election, a strong disposition prevailed among Abolitionists, to carry out these resolutions in practice, and maintain, at the ballot-box, anti-slavery principles inviolate. Candidates in numerous sections were interrogated; where no answers were received from either party, Abolitionists remained at home; where the questions were answered favorably by one party and unfavorably by the other, Abolition-votes were generally cast

for the former, without reference to party. This line of conduct being adopted by the great body of Abolitionists, it so happened that the political power of the State changed hands. The particular causes of the change ought to be well understood.

The first was, the arrest of Mr. Mahan, and his precipitate delivery by our Executive, to the authorities of Kentucky; to be tried for an offence, which his accusers did not even pretend was committed within the limits of that State. This act excited much indignation among not only Abolitionists, but many of the Society of Friends, and other citizens, who felt scandalized at what they considered, a flagrant sacrifice of state-sovereignty. A large number of those, who had previously favored the re-election of Governor Vance, withdrew their support, and either voted for his opponent, or absented themselves from the polls. When it is recollected, that no announcement had yet been made of the fact, that both candidates had refused to answer the questions propounded to them, it is not to be wondered at, that so many should have thrown their votes for the opposing candidate. Had the fact been announced in season, this step would evidently have been improper. All that could with propriety have been done, would have been, to abstain from voting. As it was, however, this defection from the whig candidate, favored his opponent's election.

Another cause, was the refusal of whig Abolitionists to vote, on the general ticket. This, we are induced to believe, was a general fact. The whigs taking it for granted that Anti-Slavery men were not sincere, but would work in party traces, whether the load were such as suited them or not, did not deign to consult their principles. The result should be a lesson to them.

Still further, an impression prevailed to a considerable extent among our friends, that Thomas Fwing was decidedly hostile to the Anti-Slavery cause. Thomas Morris, on the other hand, was known everywhere as having stepped forward, as the champion of human liberty, when assailed Congress before last by the South Carolina Senator; his whole course, in fact, for the last two years, had been marked by a consistent, an honest, and a well-directed hostility to the slave-holding interest. Now, as the choice of Senator is dependent on the Legislature, many Abolitionists bestowed their suffrages in view of this fact, irrespectively of parties.

We do not justify their course; we think it was wrong. Legislators are sent to the Assembly to pass laws, as well as elect senators.

To vote for a candidate, simply because he had pledged himself to favor the re-election of Thomas Morris, without knowing his sentiments on the Black Laws, or with the knowledge that they were unfavorable, was unwise, and inconsistent with the principles of political action adopted by the Society.

The influence of Abolitionists on this transfer of power, was generally acknowledged. Need we say, that we rejoice in the fact? Not because the democratic party thereby acquired an ascendancy which it has abused, but because the Abolitionists of Ohio demonstrated at once their power, and their stern resolution to abide by their principles.

Shall we be told, that they were duped? That the men who answered well, acted treacherously? Be it so. The dishonor attaches to the heads of the traitors: Abolitionists cannot be blamed for their treachery. They will know such men hereafter, and will, also, not forget to consider the general character of a candidate, before they repose confidence in fair words. But the majority of them was not duped; for so far as we can judge, it did not vote at all, having confidence in none.

It may further be urged, that the results of legislative action this year, do not attest the wisdom of their course. The obvious answer to this is,—if the principles of political action adopted at the last annual meeting be *right*, and in accordance with the doctrines involved in Abolitionism, they need give themselves no uneasiness about present results. They are not responsible for the scandalous acts of the legislature. For the crouching servility and deep criminality of Flood's resolutions and Lowwe's Black Bill, those politicians are responsible, who refused to put up candidates that a genuine republican could support. Besides, it is not known, that, if Abolitionists had voted according to precedent, and the power had thus been left in the same hands, legislative action would have been in any respect different. After having interrogated candidates without obtaining any satisfaction, and passed resolutions enjoining consistency of political action, if they had then gone to the polls as usual, the presumption is that the successful candidates would have looked upon them as hypocritical in their avowals, a class of persons, whose wishes could be disregarded with entire impunity.

As it is, nothing is done by the Assembly that cannot be undone. No detriment has been sustained by Abolition. Ohio is disgraced, and a temporary triumph has been gained by the slave holder: but,

Abolitionists are as powerful as ever, and more so; while the deep indignation caused by the servility of a base legislature, is a pledge that our noble State shall speedily be redeemed. Meantime, Abolitionists have given such proof of devotion to their principles, as politicians will be apt to remember; and the probabilities are certainly increased, that suitable candidates hereafter will more generally be brought out. If it should not be so, we see no other course for Abolitionists to pursue, than the one already commenced. Persistence in it will at length impel politicians, by the strong motive of self-interest, to consult more the demands of a growing *free* sentiment at the North, than the wishes of the haughty slaveholder.

The necessity of political action against slavery, in consistent and constitutional modes, will become more manifest when we consider the arrogant and aggressive character of the slaveholding interest. Many sagacious minds, not yet prepared to adhere to our organization, have been aroused, by events in the last year, to the perilous predominance of this power. A monopoly of the most odious and exorbitant kind, it is radically and unchangeably at war with the republican principle of equality of rights. It aims, from its very nature at supremacy; and supremacy it will have at any expense. Where it does not bear rule, its claims, it is aware, will be scrutinized, its exactions resisted, its power curtailed. Where it is predominant, it may find means to arrest inquiry, and fulfil, unchecked, its most hateful designs upon the liberties of those, from whom it apprehends danger. It was this interest, that exterminated the free population of ancient Italy, peopled it with slaves, filled Rome with a truculent mob, resisted the noble efforts of the Gracchi to raise the poor who had been trampled down by its power, and finally effected the overthrow of the Republic. In our own country, by a most unwise provision of the Federal Constitution, one which never would have been assented to by the anti-slavery states, unless under the full impression that slavery was speedily to be extinguished, the slaveholding interest has peculiar privileges conferred upon it, thus acquiring additional power for working that evil, to which it is inevitably determined by its intense, malignant selfishness. In a constitution which, in theory, assumes population to be the proper basis of representation, the strange anomaly is presented, of a large class of citizens privileged with a property representation. This peculiarity in the structure of our government goes far to explain the wonderful energy and unity of the slavery-

interest, and the base servility of Northern politicians." The following remarks respecting it by E. S. Abdy, an enlightened foreigner, are peculiarly clear and forcible.

"ON THE BASIS OF AMERICAN REPRESENTATION.

"To the Editor of the *Emancipator*:"

"In the 'Constitution' of the North American States, article 1, section 2, is the following passage:—Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, *three-fifths* of all other persons' (meaning *slaves*.) Had a like number of horses in the North been counted as human beings, matters would easily have adjusted themselves to an arrangement so equitable; and the functions of the body politic would have been as homogeneous as its structure; the political body, which is now annexed to men degraded into cattle, would have been extended to cattle exalted into men; and the improvement of agriculture would have been commensurate with that of humanity. It is honorable to our nature that the effects of this principle have escaped the notice of superficial inquirers. The instinctive respect for our species has exempted it from the debasing calculation; and he whom our avarice has made a beast of burden is still a man to our affections. To the philosopher, however, who can abstract his feelings from his reflections, and distinguish a rational theory from a visionary hypothesis, two conflicting elements are plainly perceptible in the American constitution; one which gives influence to *property* in the South, and the other which gives influence to *persons* in the North. The result has been, that the collective body is moved by a power equal to the difference between these antagonist forces; and as the South, from unity of purpose and of interest, exercises an ascendancy over the other section, which wants a similar bond of sympathy, the slaveholding states keep the others in a state of vassalage, which has become too galling for the dread even of separation to tolerate much longer. 'The subservience of the government to the feelings of the slave-holders'—(to use an expression of Sir Charles Vaughan, our Ambassador at Washington in Dec. 1833)—has done *infinite mischief* to their national character in the eyes of Europe. A writer who should treat upon the North American constitution without noticing this important principle in its basis, would be like the manager who 'got up' the play of Hamlet with the part of Hamlet omitted. De Tocquéville has entirely overlooked this remarkable feature in the Anglo-American '*Democracy*.' By this ingenious omission he has made the spirit of republican institutions responsible for the sins of aristocracy.

"To those who have paid but little attention to this peculiarity of the abolition question in North America, these observations may perhaps serve to explain that article in the federal constitution which incorporates the principle of forced labor with the union of the States, and gives to one-half of those *misgalled* republics a direct interest in its continuance.

"If the question were one of religion or humanity alone, the 'best policy' might be brought home to the 'business and bosom' of the planter, and a happy termination of the conflict might be reasonably expected. But the subject is, unfortunately, connected with feelings which, as they affect the politician, inflame the passions, while they quiet the conscience of the individual. The sense of personal duty is merged in attachment to State rights; the South finds in the representative privileges annexed to a wicked and ruinous species of property, a counterbalance to the superior intelligence of the North; and the power which slavery confers on the statesman at Washington, is cherished in exact proportion to the weakness which it entails upon the owner at home. The slave states are, in point of fact, the *rotten boroughs* of the United States, opposed to the

just demands of Commerce and Liberty;—with mortgaged property, augmented expenditure, and a decreasing number of citizens. Happy will it be for the great empire of the New World, if its dismemberment alone should result from the collision of these discordant interests!

E. S. ABDY."

The history of the injurious action of the slaveholding power on and through the General Government constitutes the subject of Mr. Jay's new work—a production peculiarly fitted to show the continual inroads of Slavery on the principles of the constitution and the best interests of the nation. The Committee would call the attention of the Society to facts similar to those contained in that book, but of a more recent date.

June 1st, 1839, the bill to divide the territory of Wisconsin, and establish the territorial government of Iowa being under discussion, in the Senate of the United States, on motion of *Mr. Clay, of Alabama*, all but *white males* were excluded from the right of suffrage under the bill. In the Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the North-Western Territory, no restriction was imposed on the rights of colored people. It disfranchised no man on account of color. The framers of that instrument did not dare to do it. •The moral sense of the confederated states would have revolted at the attempt as a mockery of those principles of liberty and equality, which the fathers of the Revolution had consecrated with their blood. Since then the Slaveholding interest has become paramount, and Congress resolves, in obedience to its dictation, without discussion, to exclude all but *white males* from the right of suffrage, in a territory under its jurisdiction. And scarcely a voice was raised in dissent.

"The same policy is now shown in its boldness of the form of new territories. July 5th, 1848, a debate took place in the House of Representatives on a bill to establish the territorial government of Iowa. Mr. William Thompson, who had so generously sought for the annexation of Texas, opposed the bill on the ground, that it went to increase the number of the free states, and thus to change the balance of power between the slave and the free portion of the Union." And yet the same act was not resisted on the propriety of receiving into the Union a territory, out of which might have been constituted the hundredth slave state.

Last year in the Senate of the United States, Senator Preston spoke his piece, "Let an Abolitionist come within the bounds of South Carolina, and in we catch him, we will try him, and notwithstanding the interference of all the governments on earth, including

the Federal Government, WE WILL HANG HIM." The choice of the Ohio whig convention for the vice-presidency of the United States, was Senator Preston: Had they forgotten this brutal threat, or was it, in their eyes, a recommendation? But one man rebuked the haughty slaveholder, and he has since fallen under the ban of the slavery-party.

The election for senator at the late session of our legislature, was controlled by this formidable interest. Thomas Morris, by his unconcealed hostility to its gross usurpations, had incurred its deepest hatred. Sometime before the election, its will was expressed in leading papers in the slave-states. The word went forth that Thomas Morris must be displaced; his re-election would be an insult to the South. He had sustained the administration faithfully. He was perfectly sound in the faith of the party, had been an able advocate of its policy on the floor of Congress, and was a pillar of its strength in the West. But a servile legislature had heard the command; and among other questions propounded by the Democratic party to their candidates was this—"Are you for or against, modern abolitionism." Morris answered like a freeman, and was rejected. Benjamin Tappan declared himself against it, and was elected. The slaveholding interest dictated to Ohio, with her twelve hundred thousand freemen, the choice of her senator; and who is offended

None but Abolitionists.

December 11th, 1838. Mr. Atherton, member from New Hampshire, at the instigation of this power, introduced in the House, the following resolutions.

ABOLITION—RIGHT OF PETITION, &c.

December 11th.

"The State of New Hampshire having been called;

"Mr. ATHERTON rose and asked leave, at this time to offer the following resolutions, which were read for the information of the House.

"*Resolved*, That this Government is a government of limited powers, and that by the Constitution of the United States, Congress has no jurisdiction whatever over the institution of slavery in the several States of the confederacy.

"*Resolved*, That the petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories of the United States, and against the removal of slaves from one State to another, are a part of a plan of operations, set on foot to affect the institution of slavery in the several States, and thus indirectly to destroy that institution within their limits.

"*Resolved*, That Congress has no right to do that indirectly which it cannot do directly; and that the agitation of the subject of slavery in the District of Columbia, or the Territories, as a means, and with a view of disturbing or overthrowing that institution in the several States, is against the true spirit and meaning of the Constitution, an infringement of the rights of the States affected, and a breach of the public faith on which they entered into the Confederacy.

Resolved, That the Constitution rests on the broad principles of equality among the members of this Confederacy, and that Congress, in the exercise of its acknowledged powers, has no right to discriminate between the institutions of one portion of the States and another, with a view of abolishing the one and promoting the other.

Resolved, therefore, That all attempts on the part of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia or the Territories, or to prohibit the removal of slaves from State to State or to discriminate between the institutions of one portion of the country and another with the views aforesaid, are in violation of the Constitution, destructive of the fundamental principles on which the Union of these States rests, and beyond the jurisdiction of Congress; and that every petition, memorial, resolution, proposition, or paper touching or relating in any way, or to any extent whatever, to slavery, as aforesaid, or the abolition thereof, shall, on the presentation thereof, without any further action thereon, be laid on the table without being debated, printed or referred."

This is the fourth time the slaveholder has deliberately trodden down the right of petition. But, so long as the people of the free states send members to Congress, who will consent to the outrage, they show a servility which signally qualifies them for the station of hewers of wood and drawers of water for the South.

The vote on the gag-resolution stood thus:—

Northern members in favor of the gag,	Democrats,	53
" " " " " "	Whigs,	none
	Total—	53

Slaveholders in favor of the gag,	Democrats,	33
" " " " " "	Whigs,	40
	Total—	73

Slaveholders opposed to the gag,	Democrat ;	1
" " " " " "	Whigs,	5
	Total—	6

Absent	Northern Democrats,	11
"	" Whigs,	7
	Total—	18

"	Slaveholding Democrats,	9
"	" Whigs,	11
	Total—	20

Total Absent 38

It will be perceived, that the slaveholding delegation went in solid phalanx for the resolution; and that had the free state-delegation been equally united, the country would have escaped this new degradation. But a slavish democracy, pretending to represent the genuine republicanism of the North, bent its neck for the yoke, and

submitted to be used by the slaveholder in breaking down a great constitutional right:

The progress of despotism is gradual. The tyrant is not apt to reveal his full purposes at once. At first, he is content with striking indirectly at some minor right. If this attack be tolerated, a greater one is next assailed. In the beginning he is a man of forms. Give him but the substance, and he is exemplary in his devotion to the shadow. But, finding at length no formidable resistance in the free spirit of the people to his insidious designs, emboldened by the remembrance that his most flagrant usurpations have waked up but momentary excitements, he throws off the veil and discovers himself—a relentless despot. Then forms are disregarded; and, what before he aimed covertly, with a show of right, to accomplish, he now seizes with the naked arm of licentious power. Let the people of the free states beware. The slaveholder has been so long accustomed to regard brute force as the parent of all prerogative, as to feel no more respect for political, than natural rights. The same arm that rules the slave, would crush the freeman.

We wonder at the stupidity of the citizens of the free states. Have they never learned that the time to lay hands on grasping power, is when it makes its first exaction? The slaveholding interest in both Houses of Congress, has denied in substance the right of petition, though still the people are permitted to retain the form. At this moment, if it dare, it could reject petitions at once, and thus in form, as well as fact, annihilate the right. We know this is its ulterior object; for slaveholders themselves declare, that the present system of disposing of petitions, is only a compromise, in which the South generously concedes something for the sake of peace. Mr. Ellis, democratic candidate for Congress in one of the districts of Alabama, in a recent reply to a letter addressed him by his political friends, betrays the true design of the slaveholder. He says—

"I now announce it as my deliberate determination, should it please the people of this district to honor me with a seat in Congress, to vote for an immediate rejection of all petitions, memorials, &c., tending in any manner to agitate the subject of the abolition of slavery, or to disturb the owners of slaves in the peaceable enjoyment of their property—a right which I consider as being sacred, and protected by the highest constitutional sanction."

Such an attempt formally to abrogate the right of petition will probably be made at the next session of Congress; for what grounds have we for hope, in view of the alarming encroachments of slavery

on our institutions during the past year, that its claims shall be abated next!

That the Atherton resolutions did not come up to the full demands of slaveholders, may be seen further, from the following resolutions, introduced by Mr. Wise, pending the action on those of the New Hampshire Service.

"1st. *Resolved*, That Congress has no power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia or in the Territories of the United States, *and that such power in said District or Territories, or over the slave, in any or all the cases of disturbing or overthrowing the said slave system, and*

"2d. *Resolved*, That Congress has no power to prohibit the slave-trade or prohibit the removal of slaves between the States and the District of Columbia or Territories of the United States, or between the District of Columbia and the Territories of the U. S.

"3d. *Resolved*, That Congress is not bound to receive or consider petitions for the exercise of any power whatever over the subject of slavery, which Congress does not possess.

"4th. *Resolved*, That the laws of Congress alone govern in prescribing and regulating the mode and manner in which fugitive slaves shall be apprehended and their rights to freedom tried in the non-slaveholding states, and the mode and manner in which they shall be restored or delivered to their owners in the slave states.

"5th. *Resolved*, That Congress has no power to impose upon any state the abolition of slavery in its limits, as a condition of admission into the Union.

"6th. *Resolved*, That the citizens of the slaveholding states in this Union have the constitutional right and privilege to take their slaves going through a non-slaveholding state, and to support or detain temporarily with such slaves in the same, and the slaves, or not thereto, *as a State or municipality, and the General Government is constitutionally bound, to protect the rights of slaveholders in their slave property in non-slaveholding states, and wherever non-slaveholding states in conflict with the laws of Congress, providing for such protection, are null and void.*"

These resolutions were manifestly aimed at the sovereignty of the free states, and, if passed, would have made them vassals of the South. Compare the claims they set up, with the provisions of a recent act of the Alabama legislature, respecting free persons of color.

"FREE NEGROES.—The legislature of Alabama have passed an act prescribing that every free person of color, arriving in that State, on board a vessel as cook, steward, mariner, or in any other employment, shall be immediately lodged in prison, and detained until the departure of the said vessel, when the captain thereof shall be bound under a heavy penalty, to take him away. If any free person of color thus sent away, shall return, he or she shall receive thirty-nine lashes, and if found within the State twenty days after such punishment he or she shall be sold as a slave for any term not exceeding one year. The captain of any vessel, in which such free person of color shall arrive shall give security in the sum of two thousand dollars, that he will take away the said free person of color. *The 6th section makes it lawful for any person to seize and make a slave for life, to his own use, any free person of color, who may come into the state of Alabama, after the 1st day of February, 1842, provided this section shall not take effect until the 1st day of August next.* The 7th section

makes it lawful for any person to seize upon and make a slave for life, any free person of color who may be found in the state of Alabama, after the passage of this act, and who shall have come into the State since its passage. Approved Feb. 2, 1839."—*Louisianian*.

To say nothing of the diabolical wickedness of this act, we may remark, that it legalizes the kidnapping and perpetual enslavement of citizens of the free states; for it is well known, that in some of the states, as Massachusetts and New York, persons of color possessed of certain qualifications, are admitted to citizenship. The law is, therefore, a flagrant violation of section 2d of the fourth article of the federal constitution, which declares, that "The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states;" and also of that clause in the 5th article of amendments, which provides that, no person shall "be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law." While slaveholders thus ruthlessly trample under foot two of the most important provisions of the federal constitution, and assume the right of stealing and reducing to perpetual slavery, citizens of the free states, they demand that Congress, by an unconstitutional exercise of power, shall outrage the sovereignty of these states, and limit the action of their domestic institutions, in order that they may establish slavery within their limits, and enjoy privileges there, which free state citizens, cannot, if they would, enjoy. And yet, in popular estimation, that man is *odious*, who ventures to plant himself in opposition to the exorbitant abominable aggressions of this all-grasping power. Blind to the encroachments of despotism, stupidly insensible to their own degradation, there are multitudes in the free states, whose sordid conduct is emboldening the slaveholder to still more flagrant exactions.

Freedom of debate in Congress is no less abridged, than the right of petition. Mr. Adams, in his celebrated speech, on the proposed annexation of Texas, happened to allude, by way of illustrating a particular point, to the treatment he had formerly experienced, on presenting a petition from slaves. The Speaker (a slaveholder) immediately interposed, and pronounced him out of order.

"Mr. Adams replied in a firm tone, that he was perfectly in order. He had charged upon a majority of the House, a systematic suppression of petitions: and he was adducing now a striking illustration of the fact.

"Mr. Adams then proceeded to comment on the case of the slave petition, when he was again interrupted by Mr. Legare of South Carolina, who insisted that he was out of order.

"The Speaker concurred with Mr. Legare, and told Mr. A. that such a course of remark could not be allowed.

"The ex-President then rose, and with great warmth declared that he was not out of order—that his remarks were most pertinent to the subject—that he had a right to introduce illustrations—historical illustrations—of the charge he made against the House—and if not permitted by the Speaker to do so, he would appeal to the House, and demand the eyes and noses, that the country might know who were the men that were prepared to destroy the freedom of speech, as they had already trampled on the right of petition."

The Speaker began to state the question, but was interrupted by Mr. Adams with the request, that he would cause the clerk to take down the words pronounced out of order. Instantly, great confusion arose. Tumultuous cries of order! order! resounded all over the house. At length, the noise having somewhat subsided, the following colloquy was heard.

"The Speaker—The gentleman will take his seat—he is out of order."

"Mr. Adams—I insist on the disorderly words being taken down."

"The Speaker—The gentleman must take his seat."

"Mr. Adams—I call for the reading of the rule which requires exceptionable words to be put in writing."

"The greatest commotion and confusion now prevailed, in the midst of which neither Mr. Adams nor the Speaker could be heard, though both were manifestly talking with great vehemence; their gesticulation certainly was most violent."

"When their voices could be distinguished, the following colloquy was heard."

"The Speaker—The gentleman is out of order."

"Mr. Adams—I say I am not."

"The Speaker—The gentleman must take his seat."

"Mr. Adams, (still standing)—Let the rule be read for which I have called."

"The Speaker—I call on the House to enforce its order."

"Mr. Adams—And I too call on the House to enforce its rules."

"Mr. Grantland, of Georgia. I hope the sergeant-at-arms will take the gentleman into custody."

"Cries of 'order! order!' 'Read the rule!' 'Take your seat,' resounded now on all sides."

"When quiet was restored, Mr. Adams expressed a hope that the House would decide the question on the appeal, although the Speaker had stated the matter at issue most incorrectly."

"The decision of the chair was sustained, of course." —

By the Southern delegation, and by 61 members from the free states. The members from Ohio, who voted with the servile party, were, Thomas L. Hamer, H. Hunter, Matthias Shepler, D. P. Leadbetter,—*Democrats*. John W. Allen, and A. W. Loomis,—*Whigs*. No administration member from Ohio voted against the decision. The Whigs from Ohio, who opposed it, were, Patrick G. Goode, Thomas Corwin, Samson Mason, Elisha Whitelsey.

It is well known to those, who have given themselves the trouble to inquire, that the slave-trade is carried on to a shameful extent in the city of Washington. The following brief description of it

is furnished by Mr. Giddings, in an address to his constituents, published a few months since, in the Ashtabula Sentinel.

"The purchase and sale of slaves at Washington has become a regular business. The country around is poor and the growing of slaves has gradually become a source of profit. The public jail, built with the money of the nation, for many years has been used as a prison for slaves destined for sale, until their owners could dispose of them. In this manner, the funds belonging to the people of this nation are used to the benefit of the slave trade. Besides the jail there are several factories or private prisons appropriated to the imprisonment of slaves. These factories and the public jail are made the receptacles of all the horror and unutterable anguish attendant upon the separation of parents and children, husbands and wives, on being torn from home and country, and friends, and doomed to a certain death among the millions of the southern rice and cotton plantations. Many instances shocking to the feelings of humanity are related by those who reside there. The public papers that contain the journal of the National Legislature, also contain notices for the purchase and for the sale of slaves, 'SALES AT AUCTION,' where immortal human beings are sold at public vendue, are heralded forth in the government papers. In the most populous parts of the city, on the most beautiful avenue of the Metropolis, men, women and children are sold at public vendue. All restraint is thrown off. The regular slave trader pursues his vocation—purchases his cargo of human beings and sends them to other States or to Texas with as little apparent compunctions of conscience as he who follows the driving of cattle. He purchases a license for four hundred dollars per annum, and then with perfect impunity follows a practice which, if pursued on the African coast, would by our laws constitute piracy. Strange as it may seem, the traffic for which he would be hanged if committed in Africa he commits here for the price of \$400 per annum, and mingles with the people, freely enters the capitol with the Representatives of the nation, sits in the galleries with the most virtuous and respectable citizens of these U. States. Emboldened by the fact that Congress has so long shielded and protected them, they have during the past winter driven their victims, males and females, chained, past the Capitol in view of both houses of Congress, of foreign Ministers and representatives of foreign governments residing at Washington, and all that vast concourse of visitants usually found at Washington during the winter sessions of Congress. The outrages upon the laws of humanity and upon our national character, have deeply affected our reputation among the civilized nations of the earth."

One might suppose, that the slaveholder himself, for the sake of arresting the growing excitement against slavery, would be anxious, or at least willing, to have this unnatural, hateful traffic put down. We shall see. A motion having been introduced in the House, by Mr. Giddings, to strike out the enacting clause of the bill to erect a bridge over the eastern branch of the Potomac, he attempted, Feb. 13th, to make a speech in its support. His chief reason for urging the motion was, the probability of a removal of the seat of government to a free state; and the alleged ground of the probability was, the existence of the slave-trade in the District. He then proceeded to speak of the revolting aspect of this traffic to members from the free states, but was repeatedly called to order by the slaveholding members,—the Chair, however, each time, sustaining him.

"I, for one," said Mr. Giddings, "will never consent to hold our rational councils where we cannot look out of our windows without the liability of having our feelings wounded by seeing our fellow-beings, men, women, and children, indiscriminately chained by the neck, and driven by the Cato. My feelings and my principles forbid it. The only impressions of my childhood were opposed to it. From my earliest recollection I was taught to regard it with horror. I then supposed it only existed among barbarians, among savage nations.

"Mr. Howard again called Mr. G. to order.

"The Chair called on Mr. Howard to reduce his point of order to writing. From this decision Mr. H. appealed, and the proceedings resulted in refusing Mr. G. permission to proceed in his remarks."

Such is the freedom of debate in the Congress of this Republic. The slaveholding power will not even suffer allusion to be made to that traffic, which when carried on, upon the open seas, the Federal Government has branded as piracy. It sees too clearly the identity of principle, of the slave-trade and slavery; and that where one is struck, the other is wounded.

During the last session of Congress, the subject of our relations with Hayti, came up for discussion, on the presentation of numerous memorials respecting it. France, England, and other civilized nations have already treated with this Republic, as an independent power; but the United States, obedient to slaveholding dictation, still sullenly refuses to acknowledge her. In consequence of this, certain claims of some of our citizens against the Haytian government must remain unsettled. Besides, our trade with that Island, of more value than that with any of the independent South American states, has for years been regularly diminishing, under a discriminating duty of ten per cent. charged on importations from the United States, higher than on goods from any other country. From upwards of two millions of dollars, it has been reduced to about one million, and is now fast falling, it is said, into the hands of the French. The question of the recognition of this government was clearly one, of much interest to the North. But, the slaveholding power, as usual, prevailed. When the subject was brought up for discussion, slaveholders resorted to the same machinery of intimidation and party-management, by which they have so long governed the free states. They attempted to treat petitions on this subject, just as they had done, petitions on the subject of slavery. December 17th, Mr. Wise moved to reconsider the vote, by which so much of one of the Haytian memorials, as referred to international relations, &c., had been referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. In support of the motion, he made an inflammatory speech, the object of which was to prevail on the House to deny reception

to all such petitions. A few extracts will fairly represent the slaveholding spirit.

"The right of petition," said Mr. Wise, "is not absolute and unconditional, as the gentleman seems to suppose; it is modified—modified by the Constitution—modified by the state of things in a particular part of the country—modified by the mutual relations of the States—modified by the peculiar condition of our Southern People."

"By the peculiar condition of our Southern people!" We know not what right secured by the federal constitution, or what interest belonging to the free states, is not modified and restricted "by the peculiar condition of the Southern people."

Again:

"There is no need of recognising a Government of insurrectionists, a nation of slaves, who rose and cut their masters' throats, for the sake of establishing new commercial relations with them. We are told of the spoliation by Christophe, and that no reparation will be made till we recognise the black Republic. Sir, there are national remedies other than recognition. There is such a thing as war. We can, if necessary, compel this indemnity. There is no necessity for a recognition which is an open war with the interests and feelings of a portion of our own people. The amount of these claims cannot be very great. The seizure was of private property, it is a fair subject for letters of marque and reprisal."

And so Mr. Wise would rather go to war, break up a useful commerce, and injure the interests of the whole nation, than acquiesce in a measure demanded by the comity of nations, and which, at most could but conflict with the mere prejudices, of only a fourth part of the people of the United States! But, he proceeds. The South—the South—the peculiar relations of the South must decide the question.

"The gentleman tells us that our agent was arrested at the threshold for want of a regular commission. Yes, sir; and shall the South, for a paltry sum due for *scutages*, or, for a sum equal to the whole value of Hayti, and of the United States to boot, be compelled to yield those great considerations which are vital to her safety? We abstained before, it seems, for fear of a quarrel with France. And pray how long is it since France recognised this black Republic of Hayti. Four years; or thereabouts. Yet now, when abolition rages, now, for the first time, we hear that we must recognise, because France has recognized her. We refused, before, on account of the pernicious example, and out of deference to the feelings and peculiar relations of the South; and would the example be less dangerous now?"

Again,—

"Why, sir, what would be said should we do such a thing after all the events we have lately witnessed! No; it is the abolition spirit alone which would have us to say these men, whose hands are yet red with their masters' blood, 'You shall be recognised as freemen, we wish to establish international relations with you.' Never will I, never will my constituents, be forced into this. We never will be driven to say, in effect, to our own slaves, when you have cut the throats of your masters, you will be acknowledged by England and by the Northern States as republican freemen. We are bound to repudiate all

requests of such a kind. We are bound to do so by the compact of our Confederation. The incendiary torch is advancing further and further. I would arrest it by arresting all such petitions before they reach that table. How long we shall be able to resist it afterwards, God in his omniscience only knows.

December 22, a similar discussion again arose on a motion to refer a Haytian memorial presented by Mr. Adams.

Mr. Bynum contended—"That we were not bound, in all cases, to recognize independent governments. We have a right to take into view the fact, that the recognition of an insurrectionary and independent government of negroes would have an unfavorable effect upon the *slaveholding* part of this Union. The appearance and example of a black and foreign republic would tend to incite slaves to revolt. It would be a dagger struck to the heart and vitals of the *slaveholding* country. He denied the principle assumed by Mr. Adams, that without looking to these circumstances, we were bound to recognize any government that was a government *de facto*. He differed with those of his friends, who thought this subject might safely be urged here. *The friends of abolition had entered this House, but they had entered it with a muzzle on their mouths*, which he hoped we should be able to keep there. *The South* would not recognize the independence of Hayti. Any *Southern* man who favored such a step, was a traitor to the *South*. The gentleman from Massachusetts had said that we ought not to fear the abolitionists. Sir, when the proper time comes, we will show them whether we fear them. We will show them, not here, but at a proper place—whether we fear them."

Such was the mode pursued by slaveholders again and again, to intimidate Northern members, and prevent the recognition of Hayti. They failed, it is true, in causing the rejection of the petitions, but they gained all they needed. The petitions were referred to a Committee, which, it was well understood at the time, would never act upon them. A single paragraph from the report of the debate on the 17th of December, as published in the *National Intelligencer*, deserves to be recorded in this connection:

"Mr. Howard, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, suggested to Mr. Wise that he had better acquiesce in the reference of this part of the memorial to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. It was not a new case. Several similar memorials had been sent there last session, which had never been reported on. This would take a similar course; it would never be reported."

We know not how a deeper insult could have been offered to the people of the free states. Better, far better, to have rejected the petitions at once than thus have mocked the petitioners.

On the 4th of February, Mr. Slade begged leave to present a resolution, and asked that it might be read, for the information of the House. The scene that ensued is thus described by a correspondent of the *United States Gazette*:

"Mr. Waddy Thompson, of S. C.—I object, sir, to the reading of this resolution; and if no other member will do it, I will object to any resolution that the gentleman from Vermont may offer."

A member rose and said that he demanded the reading of the resolution. He had a right to make the demand, and insisted on its reading.

The Speaker directed the clerk to read.

The Clerk—(reading)—Whereas, on the 30th day of December, a body of thirty men, and women, and children, passed the city of Washington, and in front of the Capitol, in chains.

[Loud cries of 'Order, order!'—'I object.'—'It is insulting to the house, and to the South!'—'It shall not be read.'—&c., &c.]

The clerk was directed to suspend the reading, and great sensation was produced."

The resolution was withdrawn, and notice given, that it would be presented at some future period. We here subjoin it.

"Whereas, on the 30th day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine, there were driven by the doors of the capitol of the United States, in view of members of both Houses of Congress, thirty men, chained and handcuffed, together with twenty women and children. And whereas, there are circumstances which justify a strong suspicion that it was for no offence against the laws of the United States, or any of the States, that said men, women and children were chained, handcuffed and driven as aforesaid;—Therefore,

Resolved, That a committee of seven members of this House be forthwith appointed to inquire and report:

1. The authority under which the said men, women and children were thus chained, hand-cuffed, and driven as aforesaid:

2. Whether they are charged with the commission of crimes; and if so, of what crimes; and when and where committed:

3. Whether they had been convicted of crimes; and if so, of what crimes, and by what tribunal convicted; and

4. Whether the persons who chained, hand-cuffed, and drove the said men, women and children were officers of the United States, duly authorised to have the custody of criminals within the District of Columbia; and if so, whether they committed said men, women and children to the common jail of said district for trial, or to the penitentiary thereof for punishment.

Resolved, That said committee be authorized to send for persons and papers, and to report to this House by bill or otherwise."

From the turbulent behaviour of slaveholders on this occasion, it is evident, that they are determined to concede nothing to the feelings of the people of the free states. On the contrary, they have resolved to make them associates, in their worst crimes, and compel them, with sealed lips and fettered hands, to witness daily the most loathsome atrocities of the infernal slave-trade.

January 9th, in the Senate, Mr. Prehtiss presented resolutions of the legislature of Vermont, on the subject of slavery in the District, the inter-state slave-trade, Texas, &c; and moved that they be laid on the table and printed. The motion was divided; they were laid on the table, but the motion to print, a courtesy always extended to the resolutions or memorials of sovereign states, was voted down by the slaveholding power. The arrogant language of slaveholding politicians, we blush to say, met with no rebuke. With as

much apparent insensibility, as if his state had not been insulted, and the rights of the free states outraged, the Senator from Vermont meekly requested that the resolutions might be printed, protesting with all humility, that it was far from his thoughts, to create any excitement.

Mr. King, of Vermont, said the gentlemen from Vermont well knew that if Congress should undertake to *act on this subject in any way whatever, the Union would be dissolved.* *Yes, not so, said Mr. Calhoun.* That moment, continued Mr. King, when Congress undertakes to legislate on the subject of slavery, *I see no way to prevent secession, and to deny our sentiments that the compact has been violated, and that the Union is at an end.*

Mr. Lumpkin said he thanked the gentleman from Vermont for his advice to the South, to remain easy under this reflection, but he said that the southern members knew their duty to their constituents, and were prompt to it. *He would be easy, he would be comfortable, he would be at a pistol at his breast, demanded his paper.* He could not sit down very easy while the South was daily assailed, both in her honor and her interests. From individual fanatics these papers were sufficiently annoying, but when *they came from the legislature of a free state, they were more dangerous and alarming.* He would not consent to print the paper for the purpose of giving publicity to its principles, and *encouraging others to assist the South in like manner.* He moved to lay the motion to print on the table, which was agreed to, yeas 29, nays 8.

Mr. Allen, Senator from Ohio, voted with the slaveholders.

A little while subsequently, Mr. Clay presented a petition from inhabitants of the District of Columbia, remonstrating against the continuance of agitation on the subject of abolition therein, and moved that it be printed. It was printed, no man dissenting. The resolutions of a sovereign state were thus thrown contemptuously on the table, without the poor privilege of being printed, while this courtesy, by a unanimous vote, was shown to a petition from certain citizens of a petty district, whose piratical slave-traffic has made our nation infamous.

When the slave states fulminated their resolves against abolition, and called on Northern legislatures to punish their citizens for exercising their constitutional right of free discussion, their demand was taken into serious consideration, and declined, with something of that kind of respect, which is due from an inferior to a superior. Let us see how the resolutions of a free state, touching subjects connected with the national welfare, and fairly within the sphere of the powers of Congress, were treated by a slaveholding legislature. At the last session of the North Carolina legislature, resolutions of the General Assembly of Vermont, respecting slavery in the District of Columbia, &c., were laid before the House, and occasioned much excitement. One member thought, that the dignity of the

state required, that they should be regarded with "silent contempt." At length, the following grossly offensive resolutions were agreed on.

1. *Resolved*, That the resolution from the State of Vermont, on the abolition of slavery, as transmitted to us by our Governor, is a gross assault on the rights and domestic institutions of the South.

2. *Resolved*, That it is inconsistent with the dignity and solemn duty of this Legislature to make any response to them whatever.

3. *Resolved*, That upon the subject of the abolition of slavery, we have but one opinion, and will not permit ourselves to entertain or debate it, and any effort to provoke discussion will be instantly met with the most decisive reprobation."

In the Elizabethtown (N. C.) Phoenix, there appeared, a few months ago, an address by the Hon. Mr. Shepherd, to the freemen of the fourth congressional district of North Carolina. Mr. Shepherd was elected to Congress, as he states, "uncommitted and untrammelled;" his "feelings and prejudices" however being against Martin Van Buren. Subsequently to his election in 1837, having come to the conclusion that the democratic party of the North, was identified in interest and sentiment with slave-holders, he became an adherent of the administration. In the address, Mr. Shepherd manifests great distrust of parties. He would have the South united, and his high ambition is, that it should give law to the general government. The following paragraph from his address will show, the prevailing lust of dominion among slaveholding politicians. "The idea of sharing political power equally with the North, does not seem once to be admitted.

"But," says Mr. Shepherd, "we must not put too much faith in parties and politicians. I have seen enough to make me distrust those who are struggling for power and office. *We must adhere to our principles, we must keep aloof from those contests, whose result is to elevate men and divide the spoils of victory. If the slaveholding States be true to themselves, they can give law to the government;* but if our public men be divided into factions, and permit the great doctrines of the constitution to be sunk in a mere scramble for the 'loaves and fishes,' our influence will be lost, and our property will be sacrificed."

But the most alarming evidence lately furnished of the iron sway of the slaveholding interest, is the celebrated speech of the Hon. Henry Clay. In the early part of his political career, this gentleman was distinguished for his noble endeavors to free Kentucky from the curse of slavery. Until lately, he had always been honored by a large portion of his fellow-countrymen, as an ardent, able and honest advocate of the rights of man. When the oppressed of other lands have been struggling to burst the chains of despotism, the voice of Henry Clay has been heard, cheering them on to triumph, and enlisting the world's sympathies in their behalf. Even

the anti-slavery men of the free states confided to a certain extent in his professions, and believed him not altogether divorced from generous sentiments on the great question of human rights.

But, Mr. Clay becomes an aspirant for the highest seat in the nation; and no important office in this country can now be bestowed, without the consent of the slaveholding interest. To this power, Mr. Clay's course in regard to the slavery-question, up to the last session of Congress had given offence. Throughout the South, his past efforts in behalf of Emancipation were remembered to his detriment, and it was to no purpose that his friends lightly ascribed them to a "boyhood passion." Still, he was distrusted. His respect for the right of petition, *in form*, and the moderate tone in which he had spoken of Abolitionists, created a sentiment among slaveholders, so adverse to his prospects, that it was manifest he could expect no effective support from the slaveholding states. Sometime last year, the Mobile Com. Register thus announced the demand of the South.

"It is too late in the day," says this paper, "for hypocritical regrets that 'one is obliged to say that Mr. Van Buren is an abolitionist.' The South have heard and judged him on this subject, and his seat in the Presidential Chair is the *evidence of the confidence the Southern people repose in him.*"

"We would do by Mr. Clay as the South have done by Mr. Van Buren—leave him not an inch of neutral ground to stand upon, between the South and the Fanatics. *We must push him as far as Mr. Van Buren was pushed—the Southern safety demands it.* It is in vain to talk of Mr. Clay's resolutions. That is one step—the first step. *We must measure the whole length; and walk altogether off the middle neutral ground, which he occupies, or the South will spurn and reject him.*"

Subsequently to this, the editors of the Louisville Journal, good authority in what relates to Mr. Clay, deemed it advisable to go into an explanation of the stand taken by this gentleman at one period of his life, in favor of emancipation in Kentucky. Two extracts from the article will suffice to show its policy.

"Mr. Clay believing that in Kentucky, with her then small proportion of slaves, a gradual emancipation might be safely adopted; and ardent, as he ever has been and still is in the cause of human liberty, espoused the cause of general emancipation. But we are not mistaken in our knowledge of his character when we assert, that, even at that day of youthful ardor, he would have been utterly opposed to abolition, as insisted on at this day. Slavery and freedom are scarcely more distinct than abolition and gradual emancipation.

Indeed we believe, that, even as to gradual emancipation his opinion was subject to modification and condition: When the proportion was so small in any State (as in Kentucky) that there was no danger in any event, of the African race acquiring the ascendancy, he would probably, if a citizen of that State, have been in favor of gradual emancipation; but, if there were any ground, to

apprehend that the blacks, from their number, might in any State become prepotent, we have no doubt, from his declaration in Senate, that he would in such State, have been opposed alike to gradual emancipation and to abolition.

But, the Senator himself was to be heard. And accordingly, late in the last session of Congress he delivered that celebrated speech, in which he makes it manifest to the whole world, that he has at length done what the slave holding interest required,—“measured the whole length; walked altogether off the middle, neutral ground,” which the South supposed he had previously occupied.

Such is the power of slavery. Holding all important offices at its disposal, it rejects Thomas Morris for his sturdy independence, and tames the free spirit of Henry Clay. It dictates to a free state the choice of her Senators, and to the people of the United States, the man for their president. And yet, resistance on our part, is fanaticism.

But, the worst examples of slave holding aggression, remain to be noticed. On the soil of the free state of Ohio, this power has achieved its most odious triumphs.

From the proximity of the border free states to slavery, the slave holder is necessarily subject to what he considers great loss and vexation. The line between freedom and slavery is too narrow, the prospect of eluding the vigilance of his master too encouraging, to allow the supposition, that the slave will always be content to wear the chain. From the time of the first settlement of the states bordering the Ohio, the escape of slaves has been a frequent subject of complaint on one side, and of preventive legislation on the other.—Owing, however, to the very nature of the institutions of the free states, the principles of their constitutions, and the modes of thought prevalent among their people, it has always been found difficult, if not impossible, to devise any legislation which would satisfy the slaveholder. And it must be obvious to every thinking person, that nothing can secure him in the enjoyment of his spurious slave-property, but the establishment of slavery from the Ohio to the lakes. It is visionary to suppose, that any legislation, short of this, can prevent the continual escape of discontented slaves. If any thing less could have met the demands of the slave-holding power, no fault would have been found with the policy of Ohio. Her policy has been in open subservience to the interests of slavery. More regard has been paid to the dictation of the slave-states, than the declarations of her own constitution. In addition to the toleration of

the law of Congress, which deprives her colored population of the right of jury-trial, in cases where their personal liberty is in the greatest peril, her statutes have been so framed, as to bar their elevation, and subject them to irremediable wrong at the hand of the white man. And the only special protection extended to them is, that should any person, carry out of the state any other person, as a fugitive from labor, without having established his claim before some magistrate, and procured a certificate as prescribed by law, such person shall on conviction be liable to imprisonment in the penitentiary for the term of 7 years. It may be well to remark, that nearly all the provisions of our pro-slavery statutes have been fulfilled to the very letter; while those designed for the protection of our own people against kidnapping, have been found almost uniformly ineffective.

But law has not been the sole safe-guard of the slave-holder. In the prejudice or avarice of a certain class of our citizens, he has found a still more potent auxiliary. For years past, there have been many among us base enough, to hire themselves out, as the blood-hounds of the slave-hunter; and there is but too much reason to believe, that officers of justice, have at times been bribed to engage in the detestable business of slave-catching.

A few years ago, an attempt was made by a band of slaveholders, in concert with certain citizens of Cincinnati, to kidnap a free colored man, by the name of ———. They surrounded his house by night, broke it open, violently seized him, and would have borne him off at once, had it not been for his vigorous resistance. With so much success however did he defend himself, that one of the kidnappers, finding they were about to be discovered, drew his knife, and swearing that he would have him dead or alive, plunged it into his bowels. But, by this time, an alarm had been given, and the murderers fled, leaving poor ——— in his blood. Medical assistance was procured immediately, and he finally recovered. An indictment was found against the actors in this horrible transaction; but it was suffered to fall through, without being prosecuted. No criminal was punished, but some of the kidnappers have since been reckoned among the respectable citizens of Cincinnati. This single circumstance shows, how little reason slaveholders have, to complain of any troublsome disposition on the part of Cincinnatians, to guard the rights of the colored man.

We all remember the case of Eliza J. Johnson, a free colored woman, who was kidnapped by citizens of Kentucky, carried over into that state, and, after the person on whose claim she was stolen, had admitted that she was *not* his slave, was cast into prison, there to remain, until called for by some master, if within a certain period—if not called for, then to be sold as a slave, to pay her jail fees:—a case, from beginning to end, of base, unmitigated, rank injustice. A bill was found against the kidnappers; they were tried before an Ohio court; but the jury refused to convict them, though the evidence, it is well understood, was conclusive against them!

Sometime last fall, a colored man, named Alexander Johnson, whose family consisting of a wife and several children, now resides in Cincinnati, and who was well known to many of the citizens, having resided there for nearly seven years, was enticed on board a steam-boat at the wharf, and immediately carried over the river to Kentucky, whence he was sent below to perpetual slavery. Immediate measures were taken to recover the poor man, but they were unsuccessful; and it was found impossible to bring the ~~vile~~ perpetrators of the deed to justice; for the seizure, ~~was~~ alleged, was made within the Kentucky line of jurisdiction.

A citizen of Jackson county, of established character, but whose name we are not at liberty to mention, in the 156th No. of the Philanthropist, gives a heart-sickening picture of slave-catching, as practised in that region. One of the cases he details, is as follows. A large reward was offered for two fugitive slaves. This roused the malignant avarice of certain base fellows, who immediately turned out in pursuit. Soon, they overtook *three* colored persons, two of whom they *supposed* to be the runaways, and, without the shadow of legal process, greedy for the reward, they hurried them *all* out of the state, to be consigned to endless slavery.

The insolence and violence with which the slave-hunter is accustomed to treat those citizens of Ohio, whom he has ground to suspect of hostility to his designs, would excite astonishment, were we not but too familiar with the true spirit of slavery. The report of a meeting of citizens of Sardinia, Brown co., held last December, an account of which was published not long after in the Philanthropist, sets forth, that for some time previous, their neighborhood had been greatly infested with negro-hunters; that the persons of their fellow-citizens had been abused, their lives jeopardized, their premises

intruded on, their houses broken up, by men in search of slaves; and that a price had been set on the head of one of their number, by certain slaveholders in Kentucky.

Enough has been said to show, that not only had the slave-holding power procured the enactment of divers laws, in its behalf, but that it had found lawless instruments on our own territory, to fulfil its most sinister designs.

Still slaveholders were not satisfied. Irritated by the loss of their slaves, they affected to believe that citizens of Ohio were in the habit of enticing them to abscond; and at length they determined to try the hazardous experiment, whether a citizen of Ohio could not be tried before a slaveholding tribunal and punished by slaveholding laws, for acts done within the limits of his own state. The Rev. John B. Mahan, a worthy citizen, and a minister in the Methodist Episcopal church, was selected as the subject of the experiment. Two indictments were found against him by a grand jury of Kentucky, for aiding in the escape of certain slaves, and forwarded to the Governor of that state, who instantly made a demand for the person of Mr. Mahan as a fugitive from justice, which was promptly complied with by our Executive, without examination, and with most unwarrantable precipitancy. Mr. Mahan was arrested, deprived by trickery of the benefit of a writ of habeas corpus, hurried out of the state, thrown into a Kentucky jail, and loaded with irons. There he lay for nearly three months, when his trial came on before the Circuit Court of Mason county. The testimony against him respected merely acts done in Ohio, and this testimony was borne by a single witness of unassisted habits and abandoned character, and who, when cross-examined, admitted that he had practiced upon Mahan a system of gross deception. The ground assumed by the prosecution was, that the jurisdiction of Kentucky extended to acts done in another state, if their effects terminated in Kentucky. But so monstrous was this position, that even a slave-holding tribunal did not venture to sustain it; and accordingly the case was decided to be beyond the jurisdiction of that state. Mahan was liberated, but no sooner liberated, than again arrested on a civil process, at the instance of the same individual whose perjury had already led a grand jury of Kentucky to disgrace itself by the finding of false indictments. This suit is now pending. Let it be remembered then, that the slaveholding power is still striving to establish the principle, that a citizen of Ohio, shall be liable for dama-

ges under Kentucky laws, for acts done in Ohio, and which are innocent by the laws of his own state.

We pause here, that we may dwell on a humiliating contrast. While the free states tamely permit the grossest violations of the rights of their citizens, the slave states are assiduous in hedging themselves about with additional safe-guards. Slaveholders are as careful of their own rights, as they are reckless of the rights of others. The Executive of Ohio, conceives it to be his duty, on the mere demand of the governor of another state, to deliver up without demur, delay or examination, any one of his fellow-citizens who may be claimed as a fugitive from justice. The legislature of Kentucky has taken care to preserve the people of that state from falling victims to such egregious folly. By a statute passed 1815, it provided that the delivery of a person, claimed as a fugitive from justice should not take place, until such person was properly identified before a circuit Judge, to whom the warrant of apprehension, issued to the sheriff, should be returned. A statute of date 1820, provided in addition that, whenever a citizen of Kentucky, indicted in Ohio for removing an alleged slave from its territory, without proof of property before a legal tribunal, was demanded by the Governor of Ohio, such citizen should be brought before a circuit judge, in his own state, and in addition to his right to introduce proof that he was not the person demanded, should have the further right of proving himself the owner of the slave;—in which case, the judge was bound to discharge him, and the Executive to refuse the demand. In other words, the legislature of Kentucky has enacted that there is one of the laws of Ohio which may be transgressed, and yet the transgressor, if a resident of Kentucky, shall not be surrendered, as a fugitive from justice.

But, if there had been no laws on this subject, slaveholders would never have tolerated for one moment, what the people of Ohio have habituated themselves to bear with most exemplary patience. Mr. Wade in his speech on the Servile Bill, in the last General Assembly, narrates a case, which illustrates at once the ruthless contempt with which slaveholders trample on the rights of others, and the extreme jealousy with which they cherish their own. The record of it he obtained from the archives of the executive office. Some years since, when Governor Morrow filled the gubernatorial chair, there resided in Union township, Butler co., in this state, a free colored woman, with her two children, Eliza and Mary. On the

night of the 29th of November, 1825, one William Daniels of Boon county, Kentucky, and five others, armed with clubs, dirks and pistols, surrounded the house of this defenceless female, and carried her and her children off to slavery, in which they remain to this day. In due time, an indictment was found against the kidnappers, a demand made in the prescribed form for their surrender, and an agent sent by our Governor to receive them. The Executive of Kentucky returned an evasive answer, and the agent of Ohio, invested with all the dignity of the State, *was mobbed out of Kentucky*, narrowly escaping with his life. Four subsequent efforts were made by Governor Morrow to bring the criminals to justice, but all without success. Kentucky would not tolerate it.

No sooner was the result of the Mahan trial known, than a series of efforts was set on foot, designed to prepare the people of Ohio for new concessions.

First, an account of the trial of Mahan is published in the Maysville Eagle, accompanied with comments very flattering to Kentucky justice, and an appeal to the people of Ohio, calling upon them, to provide additional securities for the protection of slavery; because a Kentucky Judge had been so righteous, as not to hold a citizen of Ohio amenable to his jurisdiction.

Next, this article is republished in several of the papers of our State; the comments of the Eagle are endorsed; Kentucky justice is again magnified; and the appeal meets a warm response. Grateful to our sister State, for not imposing her laws on the citizens of Ohio, our editors concur with the Eagle, that it is nothing more than fair, that the legislature should do something to meet the wishes of slave-holders. One even goes so far as to recommend, that a part of the slave code be incorporated with our own laws. He would make the act of aiding a run-away-slave in Ohio, a penitentiary offence, subjecting the offender to two or twenty years confinement.

Soon, Gov. Clark issues his message, "breathing out threatenings and slaughter," and rank with false charges against a large and respectable portion of the citizens of this State. Picking up newspaper reports, as groundless as they are malignant, he arraigns Abolitionists before the public, as base plotters against the peace and rights of Kentucky, flagrant violators of her laws, overstepping the limits of free discussion, to mingle personally with the slaves in the fields, for the purpose of persuading them to strike for liberty. All

this is designed to reach the legislature of this State, so as to inflame their hatred against Abolitionists, awaken concern for the honor of Ohio, and impel them to the adoption of a severe pro-slavery policy.

About the same time, the Frankfort Commonwealth utters its voice. The machinations of Abolitionists, their lawless acts, their gross invasions of the rights of slave-holders, are the burden of its lamentation. It addresses itself more directly to our legislature, not in the language of entreaty, but of menace. Hear it. "*She (Kentucky) will not idly menace. THE ANGER OF KENTUCKY IS WAXING WARM.*"

The legislature of our sister State begins to move. A resolution passes the Senate, for the appointment of two commissioners to proceed to Columbus, and urge upon the legislature the propriety of passing some law to restrain our citizens from interfering with the relation of master and slave in Kentucky. The Maysville Monitor, thinks that Ohio owes this to her neighbor. The Ohio Statesman concurs, and talks of the "robbery, plunder and efficious interference" of Abolitionists, (for Abolitionists, the editor means, though afraid to speak but like a man.) And on the back of all, the Cincinnati Gazette writes, "*good.*" The editor compliments the "good sense" of the Statesman, approves of the "move of Kentucky," would "make large concessions," and talks of making an experiment "of laws of exact and hard justice!"

Slave-state papers at the same time assume to instruct our legislature, as to the kind of legislation required by Kentucky. The Louisville City Gazette, speaking of the way in which aid to escaping slaves might be forbidden in Ohio, said,—

"This might be done by the enactment of laws, imposing adequate penalties for ~~aiding or assisting in removing any slave from Kentucky~~, or for bringing any person of color within either state unless free, ~~by making color prima facie evidence of slavery~~, and by authorizing prosecutions in their courts by indictment. It might conduce to this end to allow the owner to recover ~~there~~ the value of any slave thus abducted, aided, abetted, or assisted. We think this better adapted to the end, than to denounce hanging unto death against offenders, who never would be caught."

The same paper carefully watched the proceedings of our legislature, respecting which it used the following language.

"We confess," says the Louisville City Gazette, "we are not very sanguine. It will be an arduous business; yet as we deem it the *duty of Ohio to grant what this State requests upon the subject*, it is difficult for us to arrive at the conclusion that party politics, or a mistaken zeal for the blacks, can prevail over the dictates of unity and good faith."

Again:—

"We agree with the Cincinnati Gazette, that the Commissioners have a delicate duty to perform. They have to contend with *long cherished and settled habits of thought and of action*. Nor is their task rendered the less difficult by the political position of parties in the State. Each party will be exceedingly curious how they act, and how the propensities of the times may be aroused. We shall hear speedily from Columbus, and shall be careful to keep our readers advised of what may occur."

To show how fully bent was the slaveholder on carrying his point, we quote another paragraph from the same paper, in which allusion is made to Flood's anti-abolition resolutions.

"If the members do not think that this *separate* declaration of opinion is all that *Kentucky* *can* *claim*, and are not satisfied with their *own* *hardened* and *liberal* *conduct* in having done thus far, future we may give us the substance as well as the shadow, we would suppose that section of the House of Representatives as propitious to our wishes. As Mr. Ritchie says, *nothing* *is* *impossible*."

"Is it possible," said a slaveholding member of the United States Senate, when he heard of the demands of Kentucky on Ohio,—"is it possible that Ohio can submit to such dictation?" The slaveholder himself cannot but be amazed at the depth of that servility which yields to his demands.

It might be proper here to speak of the resolutions of Mr. Flood, but their character is such as renders them unworthy of a particular notice. It is enough to know, that they were generally in substance the same as the Abolition-resolutions; and that the movement by which they were carried, was at the instance and under the control of slaveholding influence. One resolution, however, was passed, so particularly detestable in character, that it deserves to be placed on record.

After the passage of Flood's resolutions, Mr. Hamilton moved the following:

Resolved, That every citizen has an indispensable right to speak, write or print upon any subject, as he thinks proper, being liable for the abuse of that liberty.

Mr. Brough moved to amend, by striking out all after the word *Resolved*, and inserting the following:

"That the blasphemers and polluters who now reside within this State, have no right to demand to present their petitions to the General Assembly for any purpose whatever; and that any reception of such petitions on the part of the General Assembly is a manifest act of impudence and folly, and not imposed by any express or implied power of the Constitution."

Mr. Hamilton's words were struck out, *yeas* 38, *nays* 27; Mr. Brough's substitute was adopted, *yeas* 41, *nays* 25.

Meantime, the Kentucky Commissioners were appointed, and passed through Cincinnati on their way to Columbus.

The servile press welcomed their arrival, and glorified their mission. The *torpid* press announced their coming, but expressed no feeling as to the objects for which they had been sent. The free press, a few papers, spoke out in tones of manly indignation. The voice of the people of Ohio was not heard; no pains were taken to ascertain their sentiment.

The Commissioners reach Columbus; the Legislature is moved; it is eager to do their honor; and opens a willing ear to their communications. Committees are appointed, in both houses, to wait upon them. The privilege is accorded to them of communicating orally, or by letter. They prefer complaints, without proof; the legislature asks for none. They basely calumniate the character of citizens of Ohio: our representatives are willing listeners. They dictate coolly, and at length, to the legislature, what laws they wish passed, and for what purpose; they define them clearly; they do not petition—they demand, and our representatives meekly acquiesce. True, they have nothing to communicate about the kidnapping of their citizens by “evil-disposed persons in Ohio;” of the incarceration of their citizens in the jails of Ohio; of the trial of their citizens before the tribunals of Ohio for acts done in Kentucky; of rewards offered for their citizens by villains in Ohio; of the abuse of their citizens, and breaking open their houses by ruffians from Ohio. No; their demand is a very modest one:—it is only that Ohio should enact laws to strengthen the grasp of Kentucky masters on men, whom they have robbed of their liberty:—it is only that Ohio should be the patient, well-drilled, well-skilled, indefatigable, sleepless, unscrupulous slave-catcher of Kentucky:—The demand is assented to: no generous emotion of indignation kindles in the bosom of that heartless assembly. This is a demand they dare not resist—and would not, if they dared. It is the *slave holder* who speaks,—his voice has authority. It is *slavery* that is in peril,—its interests must be secured.

Just at this juncture appears the unfortunate Mahan,—the man who, through the instrumentality of perjury, had been incarcerated in one of the jails of Kentucky, and tried by one of her tribunals, for acts, which his accusers did not even pretend were done *out* of Ohio. His defence cost him and his friends twelve or fifteen hundred dollars. His time had been wasted; and, for months, he was compelled to bear the disgrace and pain of imprisonment, ironed like a felon. He presents his memorial to the legislature, setting forth his griev-

ances, and humbly asking for some little compensation. His presence is hardly noticed; few ears are turned to listen to the story of his wrongs; his prayer is carelessly referred to one of the standing committees, which finally reported adversely to his claim.

But, the Commissioners wait. They depart not till the bill introduced in accordance with their wishes is passed. On February 5th, it is brought forward in the house by Mr. Lowe, forced rapidly to a second reading—no time given for careful examination and discussion—all amendments designed to guard the rights of our fellow-citizens, rejected,—and on the 11th it passes the house by a majority of 54 to 13!!!

In the Senate it met with more vigorous opposition. A few noble spirits felt the degradation to which their state was about to be reduced. The bill was referred to a committee, which reported it back with some unessential amendments. For several days its passage was contested, until the Services at length resolved to vote down every proposition for amendment, in sullen silence, without further discussion. On the 22nd of February, Mr. Smith of Warren made a long speech in favor of the bill, concluding at 9 o'clock in the evening. A motion was then made, to adjourn, but voted down, by a strictly party-vote: and the opponents of the bill were plainly told, that, if they had any thing further to say, they must devote the night to it, for the question was to be decided before adjournment. So abominable an act of tyranny on the part of the majority, could only have been perpetrated by men, who had basely yielded themselves up, to the Service of the slave holder.

Finally, on the morning of the 23d of February, the bill was passed, the deed was done; the constitution depied; human nature outraged; the law of God set at naught; the cup of our shame was filled to overflowing. Other states are rapidly advancing in liberal sentiment. Massachusetts and Vermont have given already abundant evidence, that the spirit of '76 is about to preside over their councils. The lower house of the N. Y. Leg. has protested against the gag resolutions of Congress, and nobly asserted the right of petition. But Ohio—her law-givers forge gags for their own use, and when Kentucky speaks, fetters for their constituents. Tears of blood cannot efface the foul blot they have fastened upon her honor. In the gaze of a civilized world, she now stands alone, eminent in infamy, with her character for humanity, freedom, and independence, blasted and blackened.

and her only reward is, the hollow praise of the slave holder, who in his heart loathes the meanness which yielded to his demands.

On the nature of this law, we have no room to dwell. It is enough to know, that it denies the right of trial by jury; converts the ministerial offices of the Ohio courts of justice into the ignominious tools of slave-holders; invites the most flagrant aggressions on personal rights by securing the aggressor against liability of punishment; tends to place the people of Ohio in the position of open supporters of the practice of slave holding; is an outrage on the Constitution of the State; an inhuman attempt to strangle the most generous sympathies of the human heart, and a bold, blasphemous violation of the law God.

We have thus faintly sketched the steadily progressive arrogance and encroachments of the slave-holding power, for the last twelve months; for our illustrations, numerous as they are, are confined chiefly to this period. We have done so, not only because it was desirable to quicken the zeal and infuse new energy into the efforts of abolitionists, but because it was important to show what an imperious obligation rests upon the people of the free states, to fill their legislatures and the Congress of the Union with men, who will unite in a fixed resolution, to resist upon every point any further exaction of the spirit of slavery, and to carry out to the fullest extent warranted by the federal constitution, those principles of liberty and equality on which the republic is professedly based.

: LETTER FROM JAMES A. THOME.

Oberlin, May 23d, 1839.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—

It would have afforded me great pleasure, could I have complied with your solicitations to attend the approaching anniversary of the State Anti-Slavery Society; but it seems to be out of my power.— I assure you I have felt very strong promptings, aside from your urgent invitations, to be present on this occasion. There will be brought together many from various parts of the state among whom it was my privilege to labor during the earlier and feebler conflicts

of this growing cause. I earnestly desire to look upon their well remembered faces, to grasp their hands once more and to bespeak them, "watchmen, what of the night?" There will be assembled others who are later converts to the cause—who were more tardy in giving in their adherence, but I trust are no less hearty now.—Perhaps among these I might recognize some who four years ago were the avowed opposers or at least the indifferent hearers of an unworthy laborer—and I am sure it would afford peculiar gratification to see them at last on the side of mercy and human rights. I feel moreover a strong desire to embrace so favorable an opportunity of noting the progress of our cause since we assembled in the Granville Barn, surrounded with the weapons of defence and the threats of a drunken mob. That was the last Anniversary I have been permitted to attend. The three interesting years since, have doubtless given great extension to our principles in this state; for it is impossible that *such principles* so vital and commanding, identical with the foundation truths of our state and National Governments; and emanating from the word of God—should be proclaimed without meeting a response and a welcome in some hearts in every place. When I consider the activity of your press, the multiplication of pamphlets and books, and the assiduous labors of living lecturers within the bounds of our state, I am almost ready to exclaim "what now remains to be done, but to unite in congratulations and thanksgivings?" But my impulses are checked—my emotions are chilled when I open my eyes upon present realities. Instead of exulting over the deliverance of the slave—and what else in the name of liberty and truth should we be doing at this late period, in this time of mental and spiritual illumination, in this day of the outgoings of generous sympathies over the earth, *now* when the Islands of the sea are clapping their unlettered hands—instead of exulting over the deliverance of the American slave, alas! we are constrained to mourn over the thralldom and degradation of Ohio's own citizens. While we should be flocking up from the four quarters on cheerful feet to commemorate the burial of the last chain and whip; O shame! we are compelled to drag our own fettered limbs to a melancholy convocation, called to consult over our own wrongs and to devise a redemption from our own oppressions. You cannot, my dear sir, but know to what I allude. The late enactments of our Legislature, in obedience to the arrogant demands of a sister state are too notorious to be for a moment overlooked Ohio laws

have enslaved Ohio citizens. The representatives, creatures of a day, have yoked their own constituents to the car of power and party. A rod of iron has smitten the face of free Ohio. A chain has gone over hill and valley of her free soil, and that chain has been riveted to the staple of Kentucky slavery by parricidal hands. A deep broad stain of foul disgrace has spread from centre to circumference over Constitution, laws, institutions, every thing of which we had reason to be proud. A worse than vandal extermination has been ordered among the best dictates and the kindest yearnings of our hearts. The promptings of pity and the gushings of sympathy toward the onteast wanderer, have been intimidated by the array of bailiffs, lictors, and prison walls, and dungeon damps. The hand of charity stretched forth to relieve, has been palsied by law. The voice of brotherhood opening upon a stranger's ear, has been hushed by stern command. Benevolence has been made criminal, and obedience to Christ, punishable with fines and imprisonment. A sentinel has been stationed at every freeman's door to watch who goes in and who comes out. A censor has been appointed over every freeman's table and wardrobe to prescribe who shall receive a loaf of bread and who a coat. A lock has been fastened upon every freeman's well with orders to whom "the cup of cold water" shall be disposed. An arrest has been laid upon every freeman's baggage, and every vehicle Northward bound is subject to a halt and counter-march. A system of the basest espionage has been established in time of peace, among neighbors and fellow citizens, which converts every man's own household into spies and informers. All this and more has been perpetrated amongst us in 1839.

Then brethren is there nothing to do? While the enactments of the last Legislature delile our Statute book, have we nothing to do? Before God we are in our measure responsible for the continuance of the black laws. Let us not, I beseech you, be lulled into inactivity by the consideration that these laws are likely to be inoperative. What is this to us? Shall we be willing to walk under the whip, because it may not for a time descend upon us in stripes!— Shall we consent to have manacles made in the Chambers of our Capitals, and stored up in the public vaults, and remain at ease because they are not already fitted to our wrists? No. Let us be resolved upon undoing what has been done as the only means of redeeming our state from reproach and our necks from the yoke.

With the earnest prayer that God may grant your convention

wisdom to plan successfully for the repeal of the Black Laws, and bless your consultations to the deliverance of the oppressed both in Ohio and the South, and with assurances of the warmest esteem for any personal acquaintances who may be present, I remain

Affectionately yours for the suffering slave.

JAS. A. THOME.

DR. G. BAILEY, *Cor. Sec.*

**LIST OF PLEDGES MADE AT THE ANNIVERSARY AT
PUTNAM, May 30, 1839.**

A. Allen,	\$5 00
D. Allen,	5 00
Antrim, Guernsey co.	3 00
Bellefontaine,	10 00
Burel, J. G.,	5 00 paid
Bryant, Jos.,	5 00 paid
Bushnell, Rev. H.,	25 00
Bailey, Gamaliel,	10 00
Burr, Tim.,	10 00
Birney, J. G.,	50 00
Brook, Dr. A.,	10 00
Byrd, John H.,	5 00
Brook, James B.,	5 00
Brown, J. C.,	5 00 paid
Cherokee A. S. S., Logan co.	20 00
Clinton co.	50 00
Cadiz, per R. Hanna,	100 00 paid
Cincinnati, per G. Bailey,	600 00
Catel, J. D.,	50 00 paid \$15
Cabel, M. J.,	5 00 paid
Craig, S.	5 00 paid
Deerfield, Morgan co.,	50 00
D. Witt, Luke,	10 00
Davis, B. F.,	5 00
Dugdale, John,	5 00 paid
Donaldson, Christian,	100 00 paid
Donaldson, Wm.,	100 00 paid
Donaldson, Thos.,	100 00 paid
Dicksby, David,	5 00
Day, William,	1 00 paid

List of Pledges.

Friends, names not given,	21 25 paid
Greenfield, Highland co.,	100 00
Granville, Licking co.,	200 00
Georgetown, Harrison co.,	70 00 paid \$35
Gibbs, Elisha,	5 00
George, H.,	5 00
George, Wm.	5 00
George Alex.	5 00 paid
Guthrie, A. A.	50 00
Gormly, David,	5 00 paid
Green co., per — Purdy,	50 00
Harrisville, Medina co.	50 00 paid \$10
Heaton, Jas.	5 00 paid
Hunt, J.	5 00
Hanna, Robert, of Cadiz	10 00 paid
Hathaway, Pardon,	5 00
Hebardsville, per J. M. Hibben,	25 00 paid \$8
Jackson co. A. S. S.	5 00 paid
Irish, Wm. B.	20 00 paid
Irish, Wm. B., for A. S. Soc.	13 00 paid
Jones, Lemuel,	10 00 paid
Jamison, John,	5 00
King, Leicester,	50 00 paid
Keene A S S, Ooshocton co,	10 00
Ludlow, J C	100 00
Mt Vernon, Knox co.,	60 00
Lees Run, per R. Hammond	30 00
Moore, H. M., Newark,	10 00
McNeely, Cyrus	50 00
Moore, Milton	10 00 paid
Mariani, Cyrus	5 00 paid
Morgan co. per Geo, Morris	50 00 paid \$10
Mt Pleasant, cent a week Soc.	5 00 paid
Newtown, Muskingum co.	23 00
New Athens, Harrison co.	70 00 paid \$6
New Concord, Muskingum co.	50 00
New Concord, Juvenile Soc.	20 00
New Garden, Columbiana co.	30 00
Putnam, Muskingum co.	100 00
Pennsville, Morgan co.	10 00
Obear, Wm.	5 00 paid
Pettyjohn, Abraham,	5 00
Parish, F D	10 00
Peru, A S S, Delaware co.	30 00
ROSE co.	175 00

List of Pledges.

63

Ripley, Brown co.	200 00
Robinson, E.	5 00
Robinson, Mrs.	15 00
Rodgers, Thos.	5 00 paid
Rodgers, Wm. H.	10 00
Trumbull co.	200 00
Sardinia, Brown co.	55 00
Talmadge, Portage co.	50 00
Strickland, Mark.	10 00 paid \$5
Smith, S.	5 00 paid
Sturges, Edward,	25 00 paid
Smith, Thos.	5 00
Sheppard, M.,	10 00
Tracy, John M.	1 00 paid
Stone, Curtis,	5 00 paid
Simpson, Matthew,	5 00 paid
Trimble, jr., John,	1 00 paid
Strongville, Cuyahoga co.	10 00

Total am't. Pledged,	\$3555 25
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